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INDIAN CULTURE THROUGH THE AGES

VOL. I: EDUCATION AND THE PROPAGATION OF CULTURE

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INDIAN CULTURE THROUGH THE AGES

VOL. I: EDUCATION AND THE PROPAGATION OF CULTURE

BY

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TO

MY MOTHER

PREFACE

It is the aim of this work to describe and interpret the genius of India, and explain her contribution to the world's culture. It is my conviction that the stream of Indian culture has flowed through the ages, reinforced by the Time-Spirit at every stage, without being untrue to itself or losing its soul in the sweeping current. Each volume therefore deals with an aspect of culture from the evolutionary as well as from the comparative point of view. The present volume deals with that supreme gift of India to the world—Education in the fullest and the highest sense of the term. Subsequent volumes of the work are devoted to Art, Philosophy, Religion, and Public Life.

My obligations to scholars, are so wide and deep as to baffle attempt at detailed enumeration here. Translations of Indian texts are in many cases my own, and I must accept the responsibility even where I have based them on the accepted renderings of well-known scholars.

My thanks are due to the Mysore University for subsidizing the publication of this volume, and to

its learned Vice-Chancellor, Sir B. N. Seal, who has had the kindness to go through it in MSS. and offer valuable suggestions ; Professor F. W. Thomas of Oxford, Principal J. C. Rolls of Mysore and Professor S. V. Viswanatha of Trichinopoly, who have very kindly helped in revising the proofs.

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Of the civilizations of the ancient world, several have left their mark on history. Central America, Egypt, Babylonia, India and China were the arena of activity of the most ancient of these peoples. Mighty civilizations have been reconstructed with the aid of the pick-axe and the shovel. But the glory of Egypt and the grandeur of Babylonia are memories of a past which have to be traced through their possible effects on the civilizations that supplanted or superseded them. China could boast of a continuity of existence through the ages, but she was subject to cultural conquest from India and Serindia. India alone of the several sisters has survived the ravages of time, and preserved and propagated her cultural heritage in spite of military hurricanes and political cataclysms. As a survival in the cultural struggle for existence, steadily developing from time immemorial, persisting in spite of defeats and disasters, the mind and soul of India compel our attention and richly reward our study. Indian literature and art are eloquent as regards the cultural institutions of ancient India. These were transmitted to posterity by a sound system of education. Here we get an explanation why, while other ancient communities are long dead, India and her heritage have survived.

I

THE DAWN OF INDIAN CULTURE

Recent finds in the Sindh and the Punjab give promise of India's claim to be regarded as the cradle of civilization. They go back at least to the beginning of the Kali-yuga (3101 B.C.), and raise the presumption of an anterior development of centuries or æons. An aeroplane survey revealed several sites on the old bed of the river Rāvi. Mounds rising to 40 feet high, and about a square mile in area, await the explorer at Mohenjo Daro in Sindh. The layer nearest the surface is of the chalcolithic period (*circa* 3000 B.C.). The small compass of 20 feet already excavated shows a further depth of 30 or 40 feet below, with town on town of older layers of civilization, each built on the ruins of its predecessor. There is promise of hundreds of square miles to be explored, and of fresh surprises at every step. The historian of culture had best possess his soul in patience till more light is forthcoming, instead of hazarding theories, at this stage, as to the origins of this culture and its relation to that of other peoples. But enough data are at hand to enable us to consider how far the finds are, not only geographically but culturally, Indian.

The area of the finds is the Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan, known to us as the earliest habitat of the Aryas and Dasyus in India. The early hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda* point to the region of the Rāvi, of which not only the geographical features

but the flora and fauna are reflected in the hymns. Sindh was the area from which Indian muslin was exported to Egypt and Babylonia—whence its name *Sindhu* there. As regards Baluchistan, the linguistic traits of the Brahuis had struck scholars long ago as Dravidian, though it is now nearly certain that the people are Indo-Iranian in ethnic type.

The most interesting of the finds are characteristically Indian. The temples have small rooms and thick walls, at Mohenjo Daro, and may have been storeys high—possibly Dravidian, memory of which is preserved in the *gopuras* of later architecture. At Harappa was a large edifice, of which there remain two series of brick walls running parallel, with a broad aisle of 24 feet between. The Archæological Survey have exhumed fourteen walls to the east and six to the west of the aisle. The walls are 52 feet long, but of varying thickness. The stouter ones are 9 feet at the base, at regular intervals of 17 feet, but separated by the thinner intervening walls into corridors. The rectangular aisles and corridors and parallel walls are in keeping with the plan of an Aryan temple which, according to the *Sulva* and *Vaikhānasa Sūtras*, was based on the model of a sacrificial altar (*sattra*). The measurements known are consistent with those of the earliest buildings of the historical periods.

With the temples were found ring-stones of ponderous size and undulating shape, and chessmen; and on a tablet of blue faience a figure seated cross-legged, with worshippers to right and left, a Nāga, and a pictograph. Sir John Marshall

rightly interprets the figure cross-legged in meditation as evidently an Indian god in pose, as is further shown by the adjoining figure of a Nāga. The Nāgas were serpent-worshippers, and they figure in a semi-mythical way in early Epic traditions. In proto-historic times we find them mentioned as people connected with the Narmadā, and their women married by epic heroes like Arjuna in the *Mahābhārata*, and Kuśa, son of Rāma. Their habitat is one of the seven regions of Purāṇic geography, and they had dispersed along the coast-lying regions of the Indian ocean, and crossed over to Ceylon. They have left memorials in place-names—Nāgercōil in the west, Nāgapatṇam on the east coast—and are mentioned in the Ceylonese *Mahāvamśa* and in early South-Indian epigraphs.

It is a distant analogy, however, that leads to Sir John's affiliating the huge ring-stones on the Rāvi to the mace heads of Sumer, or the chessmen of Sindh to the chessmen pillars of mediæval Assam. No explanation of the ring-stones can be considered which leaves their undulating surface unexplained. The game of chess was Indian, and based on the fourfold division (*Chaturanga*) of the Indian military array from the earliest ages.

Houses, like temples, have walls of kiln-burnt clay, while their foundations are of sun-dried bricks. They have brick flooring and are provided with wells, bath-rooms, and an elaborate system of drainage. Wedge-shaped bricks are used round the wells, thus suggesting the aureole round the sun figures of later times. The brick flooring and the drainage system are in keeping with descriptions in

the *Ṛg-Veda*, of Aryan as well as Dasyu castles. Beneath the floor of a house were copper vessels and implements, jewellery of cornelian and other stones, a necklace of cornelian and copper gilt, talismanic stones in polished gold settings, knitting needles of the same metal and bangles of silver. On the skeletons were found shell bangles, copper rings and bracelets. Bangles and bracelets as an indispensable item of Indian women's jewellery are mentioned in the *Atharva-Veda*. Jewels in highly polished gold, fine paste and glazed faience, white and blue, were found along with numerous stone knives and crude scrapers. The age was acquainted with the working of gold, copper, silver, lead and probably mercury. There is no evidence of iron being known. The antiquities are, therefore, of the copper age. The use of stone implements even in the copper age is in keeping with the genius of Indian culture, which preserved the old side by side with the new. Among the costly ornaments was found a beautiful necklace of fifty-five gold beads with agate pendants.

Engraved seals were found in every house. Engraved are bulls with humps, tigers, elephants and crocodiles; and the peepul tree with twin heads of antelope springing from the stem. Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1873, and Sir John Marshall in 1924, thought that the bulls of the Harappa seals were of the unhumped variety and therefore non-Indian. It now appears that the 'unhumped bull' is no bull at all. Even in Sir John's illustrations of 1924 there was one clear case of a humped bull, and several more are found now. It is well known

that the humped bull is distinctively Indian, and there are numerous similes relating to the hump in the early Vedic as well as in later texts. In the same direction points the presence on the seals of the elephant, the crocodile, and the tiger. The last-named is not mentioned in the *Ṛg-Veda*, but is prominently mentioned in the *Yajur-Veda*. The epoch of the finds has to be placed culturally, therefore, between the *Ṛg-Veda* and the other Vedas as they stand at present. The peepul tree with antelopes can be understood only with reference to Indian social and cultural life. The *Aśvattha* is the tree of eternity in the Vedic, and the tree of the folk in later literature.

Men of the age whose statues were exhumed at Mohenjo Daro, and who appear on figurines in both places, are brachycephalic, with beards, low foreheads, prominent noses, fleshy lips, and narrow oblique eyes. One statue is of alabaster, another of limestone with a veneer of fine paste, the patterning on the robe being coloured in red ochre, and the eyes inlaid with shell. The dead were cremated in both these places, but they were buried at Nal, where also are similar finds. The practice of making such figures appears to be Dravidian. The animal figurines remind one of the statues of *Ayyanār* in south India, where clay or brick and plaster figures of horses and elephants are made in antique fashion and are posted on cross-roads. There is reference to these *Chatushkapūtar* in works of the early *Śangam* period. The anthropometric characters defy identification, being a complex of Aryan, Dravidian and possibly other elements.

The fact that a grave for contracted burial is found built into a wall at Mohenjo Daro would seem to connect this culture with that of Ādicchanallur and other places of ancient south India, where were unearthed long ago numerous urns in which skeletons are doubled up inside, their foreheads bound with fillets of gold, and with bronze figures near them of domestic animals like the dog and the buffalo, but never the bull. This suggests *inter alia* a mixture of Aryan and Dravidian cultures in Sindh and the Punjab, and an almost certain connection with Babylonia and the Ægean.

The most remarkable evidences of this contact are in the pottery and the seals with pictographs. Scholars have already been struck with the resemblance of the ornament on the Nal pots to that on the pottery of the first period at Susa, of which later examples are widespread, as at Boghaz-keui and Anau. The Boghaz-keui inscriptions appear to show connection with the Aryan region of the Himālayas, and with Vedic religion. Dr. Hall is in favour of tracing the pre-Sumerian pottery to India. So far as Indian ceramic wares can be classified, there appear to be three clear stages. The earliest is marked by the rough hand-shaped pots associated with urn burial. The second is that of the wheel-turned red-coloured unpainted pottery of medium-textured clay. It persisted to the Iron Age, and was therefore considered later. The plain incised bands here appear to be a representation of the coir work with which the south Indian oil-monger protects his pot to this day. The spherical bowl with wide-lipped mouth persists on the Malabar coast. The hori-

zontal jar with the mouth to one side was probably the forerunner of the spouted *kamaṇḍalu*.

The third and latest of these stages is represented by the painted pots of Nal, made of fine-textured clay and of a light red colour, with zig-zag bands and various designs. What has escaped the attention of scholars is that some of these designs are connected with the pictographs on the seals. The humped bull appears, too, on the Nal bowl. The forms of this pottery are like those of the Anatolian cultural area, and beak-spouted jugs of the Anatolian type are among the red unpainted kiln-fired pottery of Chitral and Baluchistan. The Indian analogue of this is the (*gōmukhi*) 'cow-faced' vessel of the South, the earliest representations of which are the horned bull-head-shaped circular coins of the Gungerian hoard.

The Sindh forms of this pottery represent Aryan features. This is shown by the fact that none of the Nal bowls is *lōṭa* shaped, while the *lōṭa* is the prevailing shape in Sindh, and lotus designs appear in the ornamentation. This is also in keeping with the fact that the copper age to which Sindh and the Punjab finds belong appears Aryan rather than Dravidian, as no copper implements unaccompanied by iron ones have yet been discovered in south India.

The connection of India with Babylonia and with the Mediterranean was Aryo-Dravidian, as may be gathered, culturally, from the worship of the mother-goddess, images especially of the Phallus, gold diadems, trumpets, drums and ruddle drawings; from the names *sindhu* for muslin, *māna* for weight, and *paraśu* for axe; from the lion and the bull,

the serpent and the eagle. The Dravido-Babylonian system of preserving dead bodies is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where some people are spoken of as *mṛtapāh*, and in the ancient Tamil works, the *Puṛanāṇūṛu* and the *Maṇimekhalai*. Dr. Hornell identified cups and bangles of India among the ruins of Susa and Lagash. Connection with Minoan culture appears to be indicated by the incised marks and symbols on the prehistoric pottery unearthed at Hyderabad (Dakhan). The discovery of bitumen in Sindh puts an end to any possible hesitancy as regards accepting Indian connection with Babylonia. This must have been by sea as well as by land. We have no Iranian modification in the names for axe and muslin, of the Aryan gods figuring in the Boghaz-keui inscriptions, or of the people named in the Tel-el-Amarna letters. The ethno-lingual island of the Brahuis also suggests connection by sea.

The foregoing considerations go to show that the romance of Indian cultural history goes back much farther than scholars had dreamt hitherto, and that already at the dawn there was a blend of Aryan and Dravidian culture. The origins of these cultures have to be examined afresh, in relation to what bids fair to prove the wonderland as well as the cradle of the world's culture.

II

DRAVIDIAN CULTURE AND ITS ORIGINS

Of the non-Aryan peoples who contributed to the cultural life of India, the Dravidians are undoubtedly

the most important. The antiquity of their culture is proved by its independence of Aryan influences. Their social life is characterized by a vital communal organisation, and their matriarchal family by its peculiar system of inheritance. It forms a contrast to the Aryan system of family and society, in which there had been, already in the epoch of the *Yajur-Veda*, a movement from status in the direction of contract, and the individual was recognised as having a status of his own. In strength of communal tie, the Dravidian was nearer to the *Asura* than to the Aryan. In metallurgy and the mechanical arts, some of which were attributed to *Asura Maya*, the Aryan had something to learn. The smelting and the casting of iron are unknown in the earliest Vedic texts, and even in later times the blacksmith's arts and crafts were looked down upon, and the profession was exercised by a socially inferior caste. The contrast between the arts of Maya and Viśvakarman was apparently based on a differentiation of the arts of the Aryan and the non-Aryan. It may be remembered in this connection that the Iron Age succeeded the neolithic in South India, where no copper implements dissociated from iron ones have as yet been discovered.

Dravidian culture can be affiliated not only to the Asura or Muṇḍāri, but to foreign cultures like the Sumerian, Chaldæan, Ægean, Etruscan and Egyptian. The Dravidians, like the Sumerians, had a duodecimal system which is preserved to this day among the Minicoy islanders. Their system of disposal of the dead reminds one of the Babylonian urn-burial, and of the Minoan tombs. Their domestic animals

were the dog and the buffalo, but not the bull. Dravidians are dolichocephalic, the cephalic index in urns being as low as 75 or 76—like the western Asian, Egyptian, Hemitic and Mediterranean types. Their megaliths, too, are analogous to those near the Pacific, the Caspian and the Black seas. The Aryan, we know, was brachycephalic, and raised no megaliths. The high status of Dravidian women probably accounts for the conception of the Mother Goddess. Among other non-Aryan accomplishments of the Vedic Age, which also answer to the Dravidian, may be mentioned luxurious living, magic and medicine, and excellence in architecture.

The greatest achievement of the Dravidian was in the art of navigation. The Indian ship was very like the Egyptian as we see it in a fifth dynasty painting, a long and wall-sided vessel with the stem and stern highly raised, and with oars arranged in banks. The Dravidian paddle was round, not spade-like in form as in ancient China, or very long as in ancient Egypt. There are native words for boats of all sizes in the Dravidian languages: the raft, the dug-out and the decked vessel. There are words in the Dravidian languages for the oar, sail, mast and anchor. There are Sanskrit borrowings of several nautical terms from Dravidian languages. Aryas in India lost contact with the sea in the course of time, and viewed sea-going with disfavour. It was left to the Dravidians to develop the shipping and maritime activities of India.[1]

It will be obvious that there is nothing in the

[1] *Vide* S. V. Venkateswara: *Sea-Power in South Indian History* (*Mythic Society's Journal*, Bangalore, 1926).

culture of the Dravidians that points to a foreign origin of the people. South India is the heart and centre of the Dravidian zone from the anthropological standpoint, and there we have the most representative and vital specimens of Dravidian culture and stocks. It is easy to dispose of the myth of their invasion of India. It rested on assumptions all of which have proved untenable. The Brahuis are easily accounted for as a cultural drift on the sea coast, occasioned by Indian trade with the west. Their location certainly makes a theory of their immigration by the Khyber Pass impossible. The connection by sea may also explain their affinity to the peoples of western Asia.

III

ARYAN CULTURE AND ITS DISPERSION

It has been usually assumed that the Aryas came to India from outside—a gratuitous assumption which got round obstacles instead of overcoming them. It has got to be reconsidered, as the difficulties in its way have been increasing with our knowledge. The Boghaz-keui inscriptions, the letters of Tel-el-Amarna, and the Kassite records of Babylon mention the Vedic gods Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Nāsatya, Sūrya and the Maruts. Scholars who have written on the subject have failed to note and explain why *Agni* is conspicuous here by absence.

The prominence of Agni in *Ṛg-Veda* belongs to an earlier age than that of Indra. Such indications as we have of the extension of Aryan culture in the *Ṛg-Veda* are associated with the worship of Indra

which was spreading westward beyond the Rasā river, Saramā being one of the agents. (*R.V.* x, 105).

Mention of the Himālayas (*Simalia*) by the Kassites rules out the assumption that the worship of the Mitanni may have been derived from the Aryas when advancing on their way to India. Aryan religion must have migrated to Asia Minor direct from India, and not through Persia. In the latter case we should have had the usual Persian corruptions in the names of these gods. In the *Letters* again, we have the Sanskrit names uncorrupted—Tusratta and Sutarna. These records belong to the fourteenth century B.C., and some may go further back—as far as 1760 B.C.

Evidence of earlier waves of migration from India is probably to be discerned in the history of the horse, which is described as 'the ass from the east' or 'from the mountains,' possibly of Gandhāra, the home of the Aryan steed famous from the Vedic times onwards. The reference is in a Babylonian tablet of 2100 B.C., and other facts point to a cultural connection between India and Mesopotamia in that age. Just before the Kassite conquest white slaves from the north-east were sold at Babylonia, and the Boghaz-Keui document recently discovered shows Sanskrit numerals, and Vedic expressions for warriors (*marianna*, cp. *marya*) and rounds of horses (*aiva vartanna*, cp. *aśvasya vivartane juhoti*).

The Iranians are probably the deposit of another wave of emigration from India westwards. Their practices are like those of the Asuras referred to in the Vedic texts. One mentions their mode of

wearing the upper cloth (*kasti*) and another their mode of shaving. A third mentions their war cry, '*Helio*' (*he-rayah* or *he-lavo*). A fourth mentions their chiefs Śaṇḍa and Marka; and Śaṇḍa is a chief of the South-Russian Cimmerians (Gimiri), and Markim is an evil spirit in Akkadian magic. They are spoken of as worldly and wanting in continence; and as ferocious, as Assyrians doubtless were. The Iranian term '*veretraya*' is used in the general sense of 'victory,' while it has the historic sense of 'the victory of Indra over Vṛtra' in the Vedas. Culturally, the *Avesta* may be later than the *Ṛg-Veda*, as the Iranian system of sacrifice is based on *ahimsa* (non-injury), and as prominence is given in the *Avesta* to the ethical as opposed to the ceremonial conception of the religious state. The linguistic evidence is indecisive, the vowel system being apparently more archaic in the *Avesta*, and the grammatical structure, in the majority of instances, in the Vedas.

Some evidence of the *Avesta* being later than the Vedas is furnished also by legend. *Trætona*, descendant of *Athwya*, in the *Avesta*, has his analogue in the *Trita Āptya* of the Vedic texts. The legend is evidently an astronomical myth. The dragon smitten by Trita is described as having three heads and seven brilliants in the Veda, and three heads, six brilliants and three girdles in the *Avesta*. There is apparently a reference here to the zodiac, the *Krittikas* (Pleiades) being the brilliants and *Mṛgaśiras* (Orion) the girdles and heads. There is a Vedic story, preserved in later literature, that the Krittikas were originally

seven, and that in later times they were only six, the seventh star being dimly visible, or even invisible to the naked eye. If this be the most likely interpretation, it follows that the reference in the Avestic passage is to a time later than the *Tattirīya Brāhmaṇa*, which mentions these seven stars by name. It is well known that the ancient Greeks also regarded 'the seventh sister among the Pleiades' as concealing herself, though for a different reason. The inference is quite in keeping with the Mitannic evidence which indicates that the entry of the Aryas into Iran must have been from the north-east.

While thus the earliest inscriptions referring to Indian cultural matters, and the myths echoing ancient history, are best explained by regarding the Aryas as having sent out waves of cultural conquest in the second millennium or earlier, there is nothing in Aryan myth or tradition to show that they may themselves have come from beyond the Himālayan regions. On the other hand, even the earliest Vedic strata depict life among the Indian non-Aryas, indicating that the Aryas were in India. A Vedic hymn mentions that some of the non-Aryas were driven westward after a strife. (*R.V.*, vii, 6, 3.)

Is it impossible that there were Aryan migrations westward earlier than the second millennium? Philologically, Lithuanian is nearest to Sanskrit and Tocharian and to the original Indo-Germanic. Ancient trade paths lay westward from India, through the Persian Gulf and the Black Sea to the Baltic. The middle region was the arena of the welter of races and of racial miscegenations, as is indicated by Naśili in Cappadocia. The Tripolic culture of

South Russia marks the march of Indo-European tribes westwards. This was probably in the latter half of the third millennium B.C. The contact of India with the west as far as Egypt is proved by Dr. Perry to go back at least to 2600 B.C. Western traditions are in conformity with the supposition of a westward movement of culture. The Phœnicians, for instance, started from the Persian Gulf and spread along the Arab coast to the Red Sea and finally established themselves on the coast of Palestine. People of Maglemosian culture worked their way westward, taking the hunting dog with them. Mediterranean and Azilian culture spread northwards the use of the bow and arrow.

IV

THE GOAL OF INDIAN CULTURE

That Indian culture has in it elements of greatness and abiding value cannot be disputed and need not be discussed. The soul of India is in evidence through the ages, overcoming and assimilating or adorning and adapting to her peculiar conditions every foreign influence with which she came in contact or conflict. She took advantage of every phenomenon as it presented itself, and transmuted it into an agency for stimulating in human beings a striving towards whatever was noble, good and great. This was, it is true, regarded as the highest objective of cultural development; but it was never considered, whether in theory or in practice, as the sole objective. The *purushārthas* in Indian literature have always

been considered as fourfold—*Dharma*, the discharge of one's duty as rationally conceived as an aspect of social ethics; *Artha*, the ordering of one's worldly concerns so as to conduce to happiness; *Kāma*, the enjoyment of pleasures, sensual as well as sensuous; and *Moksha*, the disentangling of oneself from ephemeral pleasures and joys, because the pleasures have ceased to please and the joys become void of content, as higher and more permanent forms unfold themselves to mental vision. In the last stages the erstwhile ends become means to further ends, until eternity and unto infinity. Nor is it merely as a matter of theory that the Indian accepts the fourfold goal of human endeavour. Even in the least worldly families the usual prescription has been to live well, and let others live, and have the amenities of life till one gets cloyed or disgusted with them. At the same time there has been a scale of values. Despite millennia of continual foreign invasions and centuries of foreign domination, Indians have never lost touch with the goal of human life and the canons of cultural architectonics. Nor have they lost sanity of intellect or sense of relative values in assessing and adapting to this end the means that were at any time available or ready to hand.

V

CULTURE AND SOCIETY

Far the most interesting characteristic of ancient India was the evolution of a social organism for

preserving and protecting the heritage, adapting it to new conditions and transmitting it to posterity. The factors of this organism were bound to each other by the one consideration of service and self-sacrifice. The fighting classes ensured the defence of the cultural citadel of *Dharma*, developed their resources in its behalf, and shed their blood in its defence. The vast multitude tilled the soil, conducted the carrying trade and shaped Nature's materials to subserve the ends of man. In India they did not, as did similar classes elsewhere, turn themselves into unthinking machines of economic production. They were saved from such a catastrophe by the very system of their daily life, communal and domestic ceremonies, and social institutions. They co-operated in the building of the cultural edifice by sacrificing part of their material resources for the common weal, so as to relieve from working for daily bread the class of people consecrated to culture.

The last class of men, whose simple wants the other members of the body politic were so eager to supply, were left free to specialize in concerns of the spirit ; to create immortal forms of art and masterpieces of literature ; to advance in the various fields of knowledge and the many-sided arts of life ; to lift themselves high along the steep road to human perfection, and to lead humanity to spiritual altitudes. It is true that in other societies there were classes subserving similar functions, and that such a consummation was devoutly wished by philosophers in their schemes for the reorganization of society, like Plato in ancient and Comte in modern

times. The dream of Plato and the Positivist ideal of Comte were fulfilled in ancient India with some remarkable improvements. Indian arrangements were the result of a deliberate and self-conscious social organization based on a philosophy of society and directed to the realization of spiritual ends.

This class, the Brāhmaṇa, was thus indebted to the other classes for the opportunity to put its mental resources to the best uses and dedicating them to the service of humanity. The masses and menials yielded obedience, as their lot was made bearable by their being relieved of the restrictions which the higher classes were bound under, in the interests of society. If they had less of rights they also had less of the duties which made life less pleasant if more useful. Further, there was no cleavage of classes in early times, when rights were carefully linked to duties, and society knew no steep gradients. A hypothesis of social tyranny is out of accord with the spirit of India. It is given the lie direct by the social history of women. Society demanded sacrifices from them as well, and the history of women in India is a history of progressive self-denial. At least in the case of the highest classes from the intellectual standpoint, it cannot be contended that they did not know that any degradation of women was also the degradation of men. Nor could arrant selfishness seek to defraud or deceive a mother, sister or daughter.

The Indian lady was equal to the occasion. In early Vedic times her social position was one of parity with men. As the men were devoted more and more exclusively to social duties, to learning or

teaching, or were plunged in the delights of a dreamland beyond the tomb or the cremation ghat, they had to be freed from worldly worries by their wives. What a contrast is presented to the passing student, by the lady-hymnists of the Vedic period, and their self-conscious sweetness and self-assertion in the Upanishads, where women vie with men in intellectual striving and outlook on life; and by the patient Griseldas of the Epic and *Sūtra* periods, however intelligent and cultured, whose delight lay not in inroads into the citadel of masculine rights and privileges, but in the routine duties of domestic husbandry and the fashioning of future men. The woman's work was one round of self-denial and social service, the coping-stone of India's structural edifice.

Indian culture was the efflorescence of such a social organization. And well was it worthy of such unselfish labour and so much social sacrifice. The first efforts of society were in the direction of perfecting the social organism so that every member would do his duty before thinking of his rights; or rather, do his ordained duty without conditions, without any expectation of reward for himself. The canons of duty were laid down by the highest minds earnestly thirsting for the right, and were considered binding on all alike by society as a whole; and even civil law was holding by these silken strings the minds and bodies of men without any need for a sanction held in threat. Even where there were political democracies, this respect for the aristocracy of talent and character was characteristic of ancient

Indian society. The snares and pitfalls of unbridled democracy were thus avoided in the sphere of cultural life.

It is pleasing to record that the intellectual and cultured classes of India eminently fulfilled their trust and did the work so necessary and useful to society and humanity. The edifice of Indian culture was reared by men who scorned delights and lived laborious days, whose whole life was one of constant self-restraint and spiritual effort and travail. They had the duty of abstinence from debasing pursuit of pleasures, of abstemiousness in diet, of constant study, prayer, meditation and teaching. Their daily routine was one of self-discipline, from the small hours of the morning to nightfall. They trained their family and children likewise to lead lives of austere simplicity and of high and mighty thinking. Their highest aim in life was to fill the heart with the harmonious music of the spheres and the soul with the sweet melody and white radiance of eternity.

The efflorescence of Indian culture was marked in every department of life, and bore remarkable fruit in most cases. First may be mentioned the elaborate educational organization by which the highest results were made accessible to the humblest members of the social organism. Secondly, there was the evolution of forms of polity and the working of political institutions in accordance with the spirit of India without sacrificing local needs or curbing the native instincts of various groups and communities. Thirdly, there was the creation of immortal forms of art, in architecture, sculpture,

painting and iconography, and the production of literary masterpieces, including disquisitions on the technique of science and grammar, art and poetics, prosody and music, dramaturgy and æsthetics. Fourthly, there were industrial arts and metallurgy, the scientific background of Sociology, and the foundation of philosophical systems and schools of thought. Lastly, and of the highest importance, there is the history of the human attempts, many-sided and of various values, to clutch at Infinity in all its aspects ; to crystallize the results by building up systems of dogma, metaphysics, spiritual culture and religious realization ; to 'sense' the self as co-extensive and co-existent with the universe, infinite in space and eternal in time, outside of which nothing could ever be, and inside which everything is but an aspect of the One indivisible and ever-present Entity.

VI

CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN CULTURE

We may now consider what may be regarded as the prominent marks of this culture. It can hardly be contended that all its characteristics are exclusively Indian or that they represent peculiarities of Indian character and genius. Some of them are of universal prevalence and widely accepted value ; others belong to the age which bred them and are found among the contemporary peoples. The peculiar excellence of Indian culture consists in the combination and co-ordination of traits, in the organization of a hierarchy of ends (*Chaturvarga*)

not merely the highest (*Paramapurushārtha*), and of a gradation of values; and in the purposeful systematization and intelligent direction of all resources to these progressive ends of humanity.

The hall-mark of culture was a certain attitude to life and its problems, a certain character and way of responding to outside influences, a stability of aim and steadfastness of purpose. The object of culture was indeed 'to enable one to see life steadily and see it whole.' Literature and art as the vehicles of culture helped in developing a critical faculty and a religious sense, in shaming the passions and refining them to emotions, and in strengthening the will so as not to surrender duty before the temptation of power or pelf. The cultured mind was not one towering on high, overlooking its prostrate fellows; it was a light dispelling the surrounding gloom not by deliberate and conscious effort, but by the inevitable exercise of its natural functions. The inner life of the cultured man was more profound, more comprehensive, more universal—in fact, more truly human, and led by steady steps to a transfigured eternal life. The ideal is clear even in the Veda. The man of Vedic culture had the duty of being truthful in thought, word and deed, and of not grasping but giving away his fortune to suppliants and the fruits of his spiritual researches to disciples. The leading of such life was regarded as the first condition of developing spiritual power by intuition. The *Taittirīya Upanishad* winds up with injunctions to the finished scholar as to how to conduct himself in life when he came into contact with new influences.

The *Bhagavat Gītā* defines the person of mature culture (*Sthita-prajña*). His manners were sweet and inoffensive, his understanding clear and comprehensive; he had liberality of feeling and independence of principle; nothing could ruffle his temper or cloud his vision. Even the poets emphasize the relation of culture to active life, as does Kāḷidāsa, for instance, in describing the culture of the Raghus in the *Raghuvamśa* and the attitude of Dushyanta in the dilemmas in which he happens to be placed in regard to Śakuntaḷā. That real culture leading to a new angle of vision results in humility and largeness of heart (*Vidyā dadāti vinayam*) is an old adage in Sanskrit literature.

Culture was clearly distinguished from literacy and education. In the arrangements for the propagation of culture among the masses, the aim was to bring to the door of the humblest, though illiterate, the highest products of the human mind and heart, rather than to enable him to read, write or cipher for himself. The Purāṇic readings, and popular feasts and displays like *utsava*, *vihāra*, *vimāna*, and *agniskandha* are as old as the Aśoka inscriptions as agencies of culture; while in later times the processions and popular lectures on temple platforms served to enlighten the masses and women at the circumference of culture and turn their thoughts to the larger ideas of country, humanity and religion. Culture, not literacy, was the highest aim of education in India. It is true that there were similar institutions in ancient and mediæval times among peoples elsewhere, and that many of them partook likewise of a sacred character. But India

stands almost alone in the emphasis of *Śruti*, learning by the ear, even long after writing came into common vogue. We may have an interesting parallel in this respect in the Druids of ancient Britain who, Cæsar tells us, 'knew a large number of verses by heart. Some of them spent twenty years in learning them. They considered it wrong to commit them to writing.'

A great mark of Indian culture was its comprehensiveness and inclusiveness. Indian art was so far inclusive that not only the sublime as in Greek art, but the grotesque, come within its province; as even the horrid and the ludicrous are brought within the orbit of Sanskrit poetics. We have analogues in religious symbolism, in the icons of Kāḷī, Śītalā, and Ucchishṭa Gaṇapati—(Wrath divine, Smallpox divinity, and Sex-complex transfigured). In philosophy too there was a differentiation of the various schools, including the æsthetic and the materialistic, all alike objects of study. It cannot be ignored that the dangers attending comprehensiveness are also in evidence in Indian culture—the danger of exaggeration of the concrete, as in the complexity of ritualism and the multiplicity of *āchāra*, on the one hand; and of abstract meditation, leading to a retirement and renunciation and a certain spiritual intoxication of infinitude, on the other. Such aberrations of contradictory natures were, however, the accidental weakness of a system of which the core was sound, and sanity the central feature.

The expansiveness of Indian culture is illustrated by a readiness to borrow, and an adaptation of the

borrowed details to the conditions of this clime and country. It is a common-place that sectarianism and parochialism suck the life-blood of culture, and that aversion to things alien or new leads to its extinction. In the sphere of art, science and education India borrowed freely from foreign countries like Persia and Greece. The spirit of welcoming the new is in evidence in Yājñavalkya and the Buddha explicitly among religious reformers and in Kāḷidāsa among poets. The last pleads eloquently that things old are not necessarily good, and that things new should not be viewed with prejudice born of unfamiliarity. Ample evidence of actual borrowings is found in the acanthus in ornamentation, the curtain in the drama, and numerous terms in astronomy. There is mention of a chair of Yavana philosophy in an Indian University, and foreign students and teachers flocking to it from far and near. Hinduism absorbed new cults and social cultures, whether of non-Aryan or of foreign origin, and was profoundly influenced by some of these. But the borrowings were cleverly Indianized. It was noted by foreign travellers, from Megasthenes to Sir T. Roe, that Indian producers were so clever in imitation that it was seldom possible to distinguish the foreign warp from the native woof. When astronomical terms were borrowed, they were so skilfully Sanskritised and incorporated in Indian astronomy that they became flesh of its flesh and bone of its bone.

Even more important for the expansiveness of Indian culture was the adaptability of the old to altering conditions and new circumstances. This

was an ancient, as it was a saving, feature of a conservative culture, and enabled it to ring in new things without completely ringing out the old. The characteristic mark of Vedic style is its suggestiveness of progressively higher meanings in accordance with spiritual improvement in the reflecting student. When Yāska refers to canons of Vedic interpretation, this very varied suggestiveness, pliability and flexibility, contrasted with the definitiveness and certitude of plain prose, are to his scientific mind obstacles in the way of a clear-cut interpretation, and he is content with grouping the varied opinions of scholars into four main schools. For ever since the period of the Brāhmaṇas there was the reading of new meanings into old plastic texts, and the application of old hymns to new divinities. It was this process that was responsible for the gradual growth of our *Smriti* literature, always professedly based on the *Śruti*, but often propounding new laws, generally by judicial interpretation and sometimes by legal fiction, but never requiring anything like the sanction of a legislature.

A glorious feature of Indian conservatism was sublimation to higher values. The most telling instance of this is the sublimation of the gross obscenities of phallic worship into symbols of cosmic and theurgic powers. It was seldom that old things lost their hold on the minds of the folk; for forms linger long after the meaning is forgotten. Indian sentiment was rather in favour of transmuting the older decaying form into one more useful, than of casting it away as dead and useless. The very meaning of death in Hindu symbolism is merely the

passing of a thing from a lower to a higher plane of utility, whence the conception of the rosy raptures in the dance of Death as Naṭarāja the arch-destroyer. The terrific idea of death was figured into something soothing or serene, rather than solemn or sad, by the illumination of a new point of view—that there can really be no destruction but only transformation, the death of an old form past its use signifying the birth of another more healthy and useful. The world of nature was not regarded as a delusion and a snare, but it was transfigured so as to express the spirit in fullness and in truth. The confusions of the world of sense were not worse confounded by feeble attempts to escape from their clutches. Sensuousness was spiritualized by progressive self-control and constant contemplation.

There was a variety of method in accordance with the personal idiosyncrasy of the subject, but going in all cases with broad-minded toleration of other methods and modes of thought and life. Indian sentiment favoured compromise and conciliation side by side with the acceptance of the will of the majority in politics. Arbitration and self-adjustment of quarrels was a remarkable feature of communal life. We have plain prosaic symbol as well as highly artistic form in Art, a marriage of passionate form and epic content, sensuous beauty as well as its spiritual interpretation. In the field of education we have methods ranging from memorizing and mere getting by rote to self-education and self-evolution. So also we have reason and dogma alike in religion; intuition as well as induction in philosophy. Every mode was

considered to have a peculiar and particular value. Society required all these, and it was wrong to hold that one's own was the only right point of view. Even one looking at these things from the highest standpoint was warned not to disturb the faith and shake the beliefs of the less advanced, as the latter were of use to them at their stage of evolution. It is on the same principle we have to account for the variety of *āchāras* and *sampradāyas*—aggregates of social codes and institutions.

It was held that variety of methods and means was necessary not only for the differing needs of social grades and groups, but to develop the various sides of life in every individual. Every one's was a complex personality hiding, underneath an apparently homogeneous surface, many a Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde. So self-discipline had various paths prescribed—*karma* (right deeds), *bhakti* (devotion), *jñāna* (knowledge) and *yoga* (attunement to the Infinite)—aiming at securing the purification of the body, heart, mind and spirit. This doctrine of co-ordination (*samucchaya*) had its origin in the feeling that, as life is many-hued, there is need of discipline for the several aspects of the self. A still higher step was the doctrine of *samavāya* or *samanvaya,* which conceived of each path as leading to the goal and as also evolving, at some stage or other during its course, discipline of other kinds. This is the essential doctrine of the *Bhagavat Gītā,* one of the most remarkable documents of the school of synthesis. The *Gītā* view gained general currency in later times, as we find such a view adopted by all the schools, though each one of them exalted the

importance of a particular path as including the others as by-paths.

In regard to the highest philosophy, it is true that Indian minds were in general agreement about the superiority of intuition to intellect. Our philosophers held that the cold light of reason, looking outwards to the dazzling exterior, just succeeds in making the interior darkness visible, and is unable to illumine the eternal mystery at the heart of things. Intuition transcends the mental strata and brings the soul into contact with reality. It does not lead to annihilation, as is too commonly supposed, but to a transfiguration of personality. Buddhist *Sutta* texts define *Nirvāṇa* as the 'blowing out of the flame of desire,' as the annihilation of desire, not of the self. It is the losing of oneself into the fullness of a richer life, and differs only in degree from the consuming passion for an intellectual subject, or a sinking of the soul in the beatitude of perfect bliss. Its attributes are *sat, chit* and *ānanda*. The mystic, moreover, moves towards the spiritual in the common things of life and feels himself always basking in the Divine presence, whether he be in the boiling cataract of life, or in the silence and solitude of Nature.

The position of the Indian mystic must, however, be clearly differentiated from that of his modern representatives. He did not, like Professor Bergson for instance, reject the intellect altogether. He regarded intellectual discipline and dialectic as a handmaid to intuition (*antahpramā*). Hence the importance attached to *śravaṇa* (the testimony of the seer), *manana* (philosophical disquisition) and

nididhyāsana (yogic meditation) as stepping-stones to *antahpramā* (intuition) and *sākshātkāra* (realisation). This is recognized as early as the Upanishads. It is in keeping with the Indian view of social life and discipline, as contrasted with the western view as expounded, for instance, by Carlyle in the *Sartor Resartus*. In India we have an initial affirmation, succeeded by a negation with a view to a higher affirmation. The progress of knowledge is from *vyāvahārika* (the worldly) to *pāramārthika* (the correct) view of life, which sees it whole, and sees every part as appropriate to its context (*prajñāna* and *vijñāna*, which lead to *śuddha-chaitanya-jñāna*). The means is a negation, a shedding of desires, with a view to attain to a simplicity of life which means not the baldness and emptiness of savagery, but the purity and radiance of a progressive mastery of the self.

Lastly, there was a faithfulness to the goal—Religion, conceived as self-discipline leading to self-realization. This feature persisted in spite of new developments, India thus differing from Greece and China, where the arts and even philosophy were largely autonomous and independent of religion, though they started from religion as in India. Even music and poetry became handmaids to religion in their highest forms. Indian sculpture and painting addressed themselves to the representation of ideal forms, rather than to the portraying of men and women from life however beautiful. This accounts for the rarity in later times of the spirited realism with which we are familiar in the cave paintings of Śinganpore and Śittannavāśal, at

ānchi, Bharhut and Ajantā, and its gradual eplacement by the symbolic idealism of the later culptures and icons.

Indian philosophy is not the denial but the ulfilment of religion. The highest ideal was not xactly 'to know thyself,' but to know the self, vhich puts this knowledge at once into relation to he macrocosm. That unity of matter was an ndian principle is apparent from the Vedāntic ccount of the origin of the universe, the five *bhūtas* nto which the world is solvable being regarded also s capable of being re-solved into one another. Jnity of energy is evident in numerous passages—hose, for instance, which speak of solar energy as nanifesting itself as fire, light, lightning, and subtle orce, and those which speak of the One Source of all forms of energy. Unity of substance is a ardinal principle of the theory of the immanence of Īśvara. Unity of plan is self-clear from the uggestion of the correspondence of the macrocosm o the microcosm (*Pāṅktam vā idaṃ sarvam*). Jnity of process is illustrated by *sṛshṭi* and *pralaya*, vhich is a continuous process through the æons. Śaṅkara's flight in Vedānta is towards unity of orm likewise, the visible forms being regarded s the deceptive semblances of the One Reality.

The principles of philosophy were welded into he life of the people. Indian culture was as many-sided as life; it includes intellection, emotion and volition; it took account of the æsthetic instinct as well as the spiritual impulses of man. It had also, n effect, an appeal to the subconscious as a force naking for the formation of character. Hence the

untiring use of repetition as an educational agency, and the insistence on particular poses and attitudes in social festivals and domestic ceremonies. It was an economy in spiritual evolution to have such habits formed, and modes of conduct cultivated. All the capital thus stored up in the background of consciousness, as it were, formed *vāsanās*, or tendencies to behaviour, which give to personality all its flavour. The Hindu belief in *karma* and transmigration invested the *vāsanās* with more of stability and importance, as they represent the closing balance of life carried over, as it were, into the next, and evolving and fructifying through a series of future lives.

VII

INDIAN VIEW REGARDING SOLIDARITY, LIBERTY AND EQUALITY

The Indian view of solidarity was not based on a quixotic devotion to the Universum or a maudlin sentiment attaching to an idolatry of Humanity. Nor did Indian sages reject the principle of solidarity, as M. Scherer did in modern times, on the ground that there is in the human species a great deal that is hideous, mean and stupid, vicious, vile and atrocious. They did not merely see the soul of goodness in these evil things; they knew that the outer shell was capable of mutation into better forms. Avarice might be made to hoard in heaven, instead of in the world of the flesh and

the devil. Force and power were useful, even essential, in the world of achievement; and the *Devas* did not keep at arm's length, but took advantage of, *Asura* impulses which nerved them to action. Only, they would not use them tyrannously, in so far as the results were concerned, which were not to be used as engines of tyranny. Social happiness was their ideal, and their sympathies overflowed not only to humanity but to all beings (*Lokās samastāssukhino bhavantu*).

Nor was there any self-conscious idea of self-sacrifice involved in helping sentient beings. Even the widest forms of affection were conceived to flow from the central fountain of self-love (*Ātmanah kāmāya sarvam priyam bhavati*). It is easy to see how the common forms of self-sacrifice and self-denial have their roots in self-love, for very often the pleasure in pleasing others is stronger than the pain of self-denial. Self-interest thus viewed, far from eating away the edges of morality, could be kept from degenerating into vicious egotism and spiritual pride, and sublimated into a love of the solidarity of all being.

Happiness was the Hindu ideal, and it extended to every member of the universe, and did not aim merely at the greatest good of the greatest number. Social happiness was sought to be effected by every member discharging his duty, regardless of his rights, to the community and to the social group to which he belonged by birth and breeding, by temperament and tradition, and by his adopting a policy of peace, amity, good-will and helpfulness to the rest of human kind. There was likewise the

ideal of harmlessness to all life, vegetable and animal alike. This ideal was not absent even in those ages when animal sacrifice was in vogue, as hymns of the *Yajur-Veda* do not shed crocodile tears, but are full of sincere apologies for sacrificing, and are redolent of a belief that the sins of a callous pain-giver recoil on his own head. They impose restrictions on the ways of handling plants and animals with a view to mitigating physical pain at sacrifices; and totally prohibit the slaughter except for this single purpose.

The service of society was not the sacrifice but the fulfilment of self-interest properly conceived. One who feels the nobler joy of life works for the joy of work, cares not for reward, and fears not the consequences. In this joy does the Wind blow forth, and the Sun go unwearied from day to day; in this joy do Fire and Water discharge their functions, and Death does his dreaded duty. In this joy does the pilgrim on spiritual progress fix his gaze on the ageless order of immortal Nature. He sings his dreary routine, for by action he is not affected—it is an end in itself (*na karmaṇā vardhate no garīyān*). The University of Nālandā was so named as its ideal was increasing devotion to work and to the service of man. With the Brāhman community teaching was a pleasurable duty; the highest form of the service of man—the gift of knowledge being regarded as the most meritorious of gifts.

To the Indian liberty did not mean, as it did to the Greek, freedom to do what one likes. The liberty of indifference was rejected by the Hindu as

by the Christian ethic. At least in some stages of life the motive of fear which leads to compulsion or constraint was considered as essential as the motive of hope which prompts voluntary action. No one has a right to incontinence, or drunkenness, or gluttony, or suicide. A close and continuous discipline is essential for the education of youth, and social coercion is a necessary astringent to cure the weak and the wicked. Religion used both the spur of hope and the bridle of fear to keep men from an inexplicable and irresistible inclination to do what they would not, and to shun the good they would fain pursue. 'I know the right, but alas! an impulse drives me to do the wrong; I know what is wrong, but am powerless to refrain from doing it. As I am driven from within, so alas, I drift on helplessly,' says Duryodhana in the *Mahābhārata*. His was the kind of liberty which enables one to float along down-stream speeding fast to ruin, instead of buffeting the current. The basest appetites might rule supreme in the reign of such a liberty.

It has to be said that under the Indian scheme liberty was hampered by submission to social ideas of duty and discipline—*Dharma*. But Indian thought was not, like the Christian, hampered at every step by the collective witness of the saints, and by respect for the simple faith which moves on traditional lines. Even in matters where the *Śruti* was binding authority, liberty of interpretation led to the evolution of conflicting and contradictory schools of thought. Further, though revealed texts were looked upon as authorities, inference and individual

experience were regarded as of equal value from the start, and the last was of the greatest value at the end (*antyahpramāṇa*). It was a case of proceeding from and through Revelation to the experience of the Ultimate Reality, in regard to which these were stepping-stones, and but for which, as end, reason and revelation alike were of little value. The ideal of *Mukti* or freedom of the soul reacted on other departments of life also. The attack on *āchāras*, or unwritten codes of social etiquette and institutions, as *prima facie* negations of liberty is based on a misconception. There is a vast variety of custom and social usages, and changes are readily allowed from one *āchāra* or *sampradāya* to another—from the Śaiva to the Śākta or the Vaishṇava. Real freedom in religious matters, in spite of the apparent tyranny of custom and convention, is proved by the fact that in the same household, that of Emperor Aśoka or of Harsha for instance, different members followed different systems. Liberty of dissent allowed to sons of the soil, and liberty of worship and religious action, including conversion, allowed to foreign religionists in India are writ in the pages of her history.

Even where restraint was essential to social progress, there was liberty within limits. This is clear in education. Discipline was held much more important than instruction, and yet there was no use of the rod in India, as there was flogging of boys among the Egyptians and the Hebrews. There was freedom for the teacher, too, from society and the state. Endowments and subsidies

poured in, but no conditions were attached to the grants, restricting the liberty of the teacher and the taught or interfering in any way with the working of educational institutions. There was full freedom in regard to self-evolution and in social activities within the circumscribed limits of *Dharma*.

Nor was the ideal of equality upheld in the Benthamite sense of 'everybody to count for one, nobody for more than one.' There was something of it in the sense of suggesting the moral claim of all to have equality of opportunity. This view really implies not equality but gradation, and there was a gradation of classes.

The austere Indian looked out on the world of inequalities with sad eyes. He saw differences in capacity, in character, and in general outlook on life between any two groups into which society was divided, and between every two members in each group. It was impossible to ignore these differences. A social system built upon fancied equality would deprive the weaker members of the organism of the protection they need. The Indian system aimed at the ensuring of such protection, so as to render the uplift of the weaker possible and enable them to develop their best powers. One such safeguard lay in the fact that society was based on status rather than on contract. It will be obvious that force and insistence on rights assert themselves much more harshly under the latter system. Protection of the infant was ensured in the Indian system, which exalted maternity and child welfare. Protection for women against their natural

weakness and the tendency to a relatively early fading away of bloom, and for the instinct of maternity, was provided by the social worship of the mother, a system of monogamy in practice, and the absence of provision for divorce. Protection for the intellectually inferior classes was secured by the dependence of the intelligentia on them for its material wants, and the compensation they had in a practical monopoly of power and pelf.

The Indian solution of the problem of how to attain the maximum amount of equality in practice was the institution of a social hierarchy, based on a system of distinctions corresponding to those that obtained in life. The members of each class were equal among themselves, and the existing system of social division of functions made the classes interdependent. Nothing is more interesting than the restraints the intelligentia placed on itself, for social tyranny degrades the oppressor. It has already been mentioned that it had the duty, originally self-imposed and later crystallized into custom, of educating and elevating the masses. This education provided opportunities of development to all in accordance with their inborn taste, temperament and talent, as judged by the social canons of the time. The cultured had the duty of seeing the All in all things, and of consequent kindness to all beings. The Vedāntic conception of *Brahman* kept alive the view of fundamental equality through the obvious differences on the surface. Lastly, there were safeguards for the less advanced, in the condemnation of spiritual pride as a cardinal sin, and the odour of sanctity

given to these views by religion. Numerous passages in the Upanishads cry down erudition unaccompanied by a change of heart. The *Gītā* declares that, on the proper view, all souls, animal and human, are as capable of development as the righteous and learned Brāhman, and there was therefore no cause for an overweening sense of superiority.

The Brāhman class is said to have set at defiance the principle of equality in actual life, prompted by a spirit of selfishness, in the *Sūtra* period. Equality in the administration of justice shows itself in judicial impartiality. It is alleged that the priest had captured the king and his class, and the class of merchant princes, so thoroughly as to obtain their sanction for a judicially unfair gradation of punishments according to the caste of the criminal —more or less on the lines of ancient codes like that of Hammurabi, though more logical and systematic than these. It is true that law should be no respecter of persons; but it had to take into account the character and the mental predisposition of the criminal in order that punishments might be deterrent. 'The Lord Chancellor and the pick-pocket are not tied by the same bands,' as Jeremy Taylor put it. Is it not possible that the Indian view in the *Smritis* is based on an exaggerated application and scientific overdoing of this commonsense principle? It is fair to discern the root cause while rejecting the by-products. It is possible, too, that the punishments awarded were in inverse ratio to the other social penalties to which the classes were subject.

VIII

INDIAN VIEWS OF PROGRESS AND EVOLUTION

India was not without the basic ideas of evolution. The Indian conception includes *udbheda*, *vivaraṇa*, *abhivyakti* and *pariṇāma*. But it would never have accepted a biological view of evolution which would imply a notion of progress as an unlimited automatic advance towards perfection, implying a series of changes for the better from barbarism to modern civilization. The 'unfolding' of *Prakṛti* is not a mechanical evolution but one directed by the spirit (*Purusha*). Even a moderate modern view of progress—Prof. Dowden's, for instance—would apply it to the accumulation of knowledge and to the material improvement of society. The Indian view would rather be in agreement with that of De Maistre, that in ancient times men had a direct vision of truth of all sorts and were able to take the *a priori* road to knowledge in several departments. Prof. Hobhouse has emphasized that a just conception of progress does not support the view that the struggle for existence is the condition of progress. The Indian conception is nearer what he calls the ethical conception of it, as consisting essentially in the evolution of mind, in the unfolding of an order of ideas by which life is stimulated and guided. It is questionable whether progress in the West, while it has meant more control over nature, has really increased the vigour of men's characters or expanded that background of freedom which is necessary for great creations of the spirit. It is a question whether

the cant of efficiency, which has replaced the older slogans of Liberty, Humanity and Justice, a mechanical conception of society and a craving for power and domination in relation to other societies, is amends for the loss of a condition of things which, as in ancient Greece and in mediæval Italy, gave exuberant impulses for the creation of products of the spirit, of universal and ever-abiding value. It is exactly here that the modern West may profit most from ancient India.

The Indian conception of progress was not static but dynamic; it was not cyclic but spiral. This is indicated by the words *Sarga*, *Jagat* and *Praḷaya*. *Jagat* denotes the evolving, in *Jagatī*, the evolving universe. *Sarga* or *Kalpa* is evolution (*utsarpana*) by increasing cohesion, in stages from the rare *ākāśa* (*ether*) through air, fire and water to the dense earth. *Praḷaya* is the contrary process (*avasarpana*). The *samsāra* denotes a spiral (*sarpa*) rather than a cyclic motion, for we are told that the older order of beings is not extinct at the new *Sarga*, but that its seeds are there as potential energy ripe for a new development. Even *sthiti* (conservation) is not conceived as static, but as dynamic: the *Gītā* applies the term *tishṭhanti* to those actuated by the *rājasik* spirit, the one attribute of which is ceaseless activity. The *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* principles go on in an eternal spiral process. *Loka-sthiti* and *loka-saṅgraha* can be explained only as conditions of a relative stability. Creation and incarnation are the restoration of the social balance when the things get out of joint and order (*dharma*) has given place to chaos (*adharma*).

The Indian conception of progress was not that of a perpetual commotion and ceaseless strife, but a steady improvement in the power of the subject to adjust himself to the changing conditions around him. It meant no benumbing of personality but an expansion thereof, with a view to realizing the best and highest powers of the soul and surrender them to service. It meant the acquisition of more and more power in self, a greater independence of external circumstances and influences; not a tame submission to misconceived social ideals of false or wrongly graded values. The devices and contrivances which pander to convenience in modern times will have to be regarded as not conducive to progress in this view, if they weaken self-help or sap the vitality of native resources. Even a man of the world *par excellence*, as is Kauṭilya, regards the goal of education as *ātmavattā* (winning self-possession). The highest aim in evolution was to enable the soul to manifest the divinity which is its real form by controlling Nature, by work and worship, psychic control and philosophy. Even if we take into consideration the final goal or stage of liberation (*mukti*), we are not told that the Universe ceases to exist for the *mukta*, but that his conception of it and his attitude towards it have become changed.

Social progress meant a syncretism and synthesis whereby society included in its purview all institutions, however mean, ugly, grovelling; and sought to bring their victims and votaries to a higher conception of values, progressively higher until the highest was reached. The glutton was

made to think of his food as God, and cut down his rations daily until he learnt to eat to live instead of living to eat. One in unremitting pursuit of pleasure was educated to discern bliss (*ānanda*) successively in joys of progressively higher orders—as in the *Taittirīya Upanishad,* on an *adhyātmic* view—in things of the world and the flesh; in art and ideal; in personality surviving bodily death; in concerns entirely of the spirit; in the æsthetic delight of creative thought, refinement and power; in infinite illumination; in the creation of ever-new forms of increasing sweetness and light; and finally, in the realization of one's self in every limb and joint of all that was or is or shall be, by progressive alteration of the ends to be achieved and of the means to be adopted, through eternity ever unto infinity. When pleasure ceases to please, and power ceases to strengthen, having spent itself, identity alone satisfies. In the Upanishad there is identity taught at every step, until the infinite truth and joy has realised itself. One on the *bhakti-mārga* (path of devotion) progressed from idol worship, through the conception of the idol as merely symbolical of his God (*sambhūti*), to iconoclasm or idol-less worship (*asambhūti*), when the utility of the idol existed for him no longer; to the highest stage of all, when it was realized that the truth lay neither exclusively in idolatry nor in iconoclasm, and that both were means suited at particular stages of spiritual evolution to achieve the end which is higher than both. To the thinker pure and simple, there was spiritual progress by realization of the macrocosm by correspondence with microcosm (*Pāṅktena pāṅk-*

tam spṛṇoti), till he came to the stage when to him everything that is was but a speck of the Infinite; and he realized that everything that emerges from the infinite must partake of its own nature and must needs be infinite. (*Pūrṇasya pūrṇam ādāya pūrṇam eva avaśishyate.*)

CHAPTER II

VEDIC FOUNDATIONS

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I

VEDIC SPEECH, RECITATION AND PHONOLOGY

VEDIC religion inspired the earliest literature of India. It was essentially a religion of sacrifices. The literature was therefore connected with sacrifice in its threefold aspect of recitation, chant, and ritualism. There was early specialization in each of these directions, as is clear from several hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda*.

Vedic Aryas attached considerable importance to clear enunciation and correct pronunciation. They laughed at the imperfect vocal organs of the Dasyu non-Aryans, on whom they flung such opprobrious epithets as 'noseless' (*anāsa*), and 'of uncouth utterance' (*mṛdhravāk*).[1] As regards the Aryas themselves, we are told that Indra had made their speech articulate, and that they had seven forms of utterance and four definite grades of speech.[2] In reciting their texts they modulated their voice 'in diverse ways,' and Viśvāmitra's skill in recitation is the subject-matter of a particular hymn.[3]

The first step in progress is probably to be

[1] *R.-V.*, v, 29, 10 ; 32, 8. [2] *R.-V.*, I, 164, 3 and 5 ; *T.S.*, VI, 4, 7, 3.
[3] *R.-V.*, III, 53, 15.

associated with the differentiation of the three forms of utterance at sacrifices: 'The Gāyatrins sing of thee, Arkins hymn thy praise, and the Brāhmans, oh Indra, raise thee aloft, as it were, on a pole.' 'Indra is invoked by the great Gāthins, and the Arkins by prayers. And they perform rites, suitably to the words uttered.'[1] In these words we have the real meaning of '*trayī vidyā*', the three forms of religious functioning, which were in charge of separate sections, the Arkins, Hotrins and Ṛtviks, long before the *Ṛg-Veda* was put into the existing form, and the texts in regard to which were preserved in different forms of style. There is clear evidence that the *Ṛk*, *Yajus* and *Sāman* of the early texts had reference to these forms, and not to the modern textual collections which go by these names. The *Yajur-Veda* declares that while the *Sāman* and *Yajus* employed at a sacrifice give only temporary effects, the efficacy of the *Ṛk* used is enduring.[2] *Ṛk*, *Yajus* and *Sāman* here obviously do not refer to the Vedic collections, but they refer only to the *Ṛk* verses recited at a sacrifice, the ritualistic formulæ relating to it, and the *Sāmans* sung.

Purity in speech came to be regarded as a mark of culture in the age of the Brāhmaṇas. The

[1] *R.-V.*, v, 10, 8. Compare the language of the *Purusha* hymn:—*Ṛchassāmāni jajñire, Chhandāmsi jajñire tasmāt, Yajustasmādajāyata.* cf. *T.B.*, I, 2, 26; *Yamṛshayastraividā viduh Ṛchassāmāni Yajūmshi* and *R.-V.*, v, 10, 8; *Tvām stomā avivṛdhan tvām ukthā Śatakrato tvām vardhantu no girah.* *T.S.*, VI, 10, 5, 3; *Yadvai yajñasya Sāmnā Yajushā kriyate śithilam tat yadichā tat dṛḍham.* See also *Jaimini Sūtras*, 31, 33, 34 and *Nyāya Vistara* (*Na Ṛk Sāma Yajushām lakshma sānkaryāditiś ankite, padaścha gītah praślishṭhapāṭha ityastyasankarah*).

[2] *T.S.*, VI, 5, 10, 3.

home of undefiled speech was the Kuru-Pāñchāla country. The speech of the North was good, and Vedic students resorted there in numbers. The language of the barbarian was, of course, forbidden to the Aryas. An Aryan family was once excluded from the priesthood because of its faulty (*apūta*) speech.[1] It was far from easy even for men of culture to pick up the Aryan pronunciation. 'The Vrātyas spoke the language of the learned (*dīkshita vāk*), but found it difficult to pronounce (*duruktam*) even easy words' (*aduruktam*).[2] Even Aryan students found it necessary to practise recitation in their youth, to be sure of accuracy, and this they did before the birds of the air announced the approach of day.[3] The men who were busy with worldly avocations, like agriculture, were condemned as of sin-producing speech even in the *Ṛg-Veda*,[4] and were in the age of the Brāhmaṇas separated, along with the fighting classes, from those who devoted their lives entirely to study, and were characterized by the elegance of their enunciation.

The evolution of a sound system of phonology can be traced in the texts. In one passage we have a disquisition on the evolution of articulate sound.[5] The *Aitareya* and *Śatapatha Āraṇyakas* classify sounds as *ghosha*, *ūshman* and *vyañjana*, differentiate the dental from the lingual *n* and the sibilants *ś*, *s* and *sh*, and discuss the rules of combination of

[1] *A.B.*, VII, 2, 7; *S.B.*, III, 21. [2] *P.B.*, XVII, 1, 9.

[3] *T.S.*, VI, 4, 3, 1; *A.B.*, II, 15. The expression is *Purā vayobhyah*, which, curiously enough, has been translated, 'before birds', making no sense. Bhāskara makes it clear in his commentary: *Pakshyādīnām vāg-vadanārambhāt prāk.* (*Mys. Or. Ser. Ed.*, Vol. XIII, p. 398.)

[4] *R.-V.*, X, 71, 7. [5] *R.-V.*, VI, 16, 30.

sounds (*sandhi*). In the Upanishads we have the enumeration of other phonological factors:—quantity (*mātrā*), accent (*balam*), euphony (*sāma*) and relations of letters (*santāna*).[1]

Vedic modes of recitation were of various kinds. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*[2] refers to the frog-like (*māṇḍūkya*) mode of recitation, showing incidentally that the famous frog-hymn of the *Ṛg-Veda* is really a play on the word *Māṇḍūkya*, which was the appellation of a well-known school of Vedic reciters, as it came to be of scholars and philosophers in the period of the Upanishads. Māṇḍūkāyanas were a Ṛg-Vedic school of later times, and Pāṇini derives the word from *Maṇḍūka*.[3] The *Āraṇyaka* also refers to three ways of reciting the *Ṛg-Veda* (*pratṛṇṇa*, *nirbhuja* and *ubhayamantareṇa*), which probably correspond to the modern ways of reciting Vedic words taken singly or in pairs or in a continuous way in the form of verses in *Samhita*, *Pada*, and *Krama*.[4] The still later forms known as *Jaṭā*, and *Ghana*, were apparently developments of part-verses applied to ceremonies, the words of which were repeated in hymnal as well as in reverse order, and combined according to rules of *sandhi*. Such vocal gymnastics, apart from the beliefs prevalent at the time, had the excellent effect of preserving the Vedic texts unaltered for posterity.

Real culture was never considered to be the outcome of mere recitation, whatever the value attached to the latter. Even the *Ṛg-Veda* contains flings at parrot-

[1] *A.A.*, III; *S.A.*, VII and VIII; *Tait. Up.*, I, I, 2.

[2] *A.A.*, VIII.

[3] *R.-V.*, IV, I, 119.

[4] The *Prātiśākhya* mentions *Bābhravīya Kramakṛt* and *Śākala Padakṛt* among the founders of Schools of the *Ṛg-Veda*.

like or frog-like reciters, and clear indications of the futility of learning to one who did not know the meaning of what he had learnt. 'They consider one man as firmly established in the friendship of speech; another bears speech without fruit, without flowers.'[1] The latter is compared to a pillar supporting a hall and styled a bearer of Vedic burden, while the knower of the meaning and significance is said to attain all happiness. Vedic rituals are said to bear fruit not only to those who perform them but to those who know their meaning.

II

EVOLUTION OF VEDIC STUDIES

There gradually came into existence, therefore, a large mass of literature composed by eminent personages in antiquity, containing explanations and discussions of various texts, and allusions and references to their application to rituals. Some such references are found in the hymns themselves. One passage in the *Ṛg-Veda* mentions *Gāthā*, *Nārāśaṃsī* and *Raibhi* verses. Some of the *Gāthās* were non-Vedic verses composed by the *Rishis* and sung to the accompaniment of the lute. The *Sathapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions the *Yajña Gāthā*. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* explains the *Gāthā* as human, contrasted with the divine *Ṛk*, but it refers to the divine Veda of the Gāthins which was shared by Sunaśśepa in the famous story of the 'human sacrifice.' The *Yajur-Veda* and the Brāhmaṇas teem with discus-

[1] *R.-V.*, x, 71, 5.

sions of the meaning, significance and application of several Vedic passages.[1]

These discussions and dissertations were later classified and arranged under different heads. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions the *Anuśāsanas*,[2] which are commandments issued to the learners of the Veda in conformity with the spirit of these texts; the *Vidyās*, or mystic and sacred lore; *Vākovākya*, or logic; *Itihāsa*, or legendary history; *Purāṇa*, or legendary lore; *Nārāśaṃsis*, or verses in commemoration of patrons and heroes; and *Gāthās*, or sententious sayings. The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* has practically the same list, but puts the two last together.[3]

It is as a result of this process and further specialization of the various branches of learning that we have the systematization of the Vedāṅgas, the Upavedas and some of the earliest of the Darśanas. The first reference to the Vedāṅgas is to be found, I believe, in the term *Anuśāsana*, which occurs in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Sāyaṇa explains the term as meaning the Vedāṅgas, and his explanation is not inherently impossible, as the Vedāṅgas were then already in the embryo, and might be included under the general term *Anuśāsana*, which literally

[1] *R.-V.*, x, 85, 6.

[2] *Śāsana* means instruction. cf. Śāstā (teacher), Śāstrā (treatise), Śādhi (teach), Anuśāstṛ (teacher).

[3] *S.B.*, XI; *T.A.*, II, 9; *A.-V.*, XV, 6. The meanings of these terms are clear from *T.A.*, I, I, I, 6, etc. *Āharaṇam* is esoteric truth, corresponding to *vidyā* and *nivid* in the Upanishads. (*Etadāharaṇam dadyāt.*) Ākhyāyikā in the Vedic age merely means 'adages,' as in *Sūryamaṇḍālānyākhyāyikāh, ata ūrdhvam sanirvachanāh.* Cf also *Brahmaṇa udaraṇam* and *udīraṇam*. The earliest Purāṇa story I have been able to trace is in *T.S.*, I, I, 9, in *Purā krūrasya visṛpo . . . tām dhīrāso anudṛśya yajante.*

means only studies and directions auxiliary to the study of the Vedic texts.[1]

The earliest of the Vedāṅgas appears to have been *Kalpa*, which contains not only directions for sacrifices, as is usually believed, but general rules of conduct, and regulations in regard to study and teaching. It is mentioned in the *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad*,[2] for instance, that it was laid down in the early *Kalpas* that knowledge of the highest kind should not be imparted to one who was not calm and tranquil in spirit, and who was not a son or resident disciple. It is not at present possible to determine when the *Kalpas* were stripped of this character and became merely manuals of ritualistic rules. It must have been after the growth of the Smṛti literature.

The *Nirukta* was the crystallization of the discussions stimulated by the spirit of enquiry prevalent in the age of ritualism. The riddle verses of the *Atharva-Veda* represent probably the earliest step in this direction. The *Yajur-Veda* has the expression '*praśnam eti*,' and the Brāhmaṇa has three sets of literary dialecticians, *praśnin*, *abhipraśnin*, *praśnavivāka* — questioner, cross-questioner, and answerer. There could hardly be any reference here to 'parties in a lawsuit,' which is a gratuitous assumption. The significance is educational rather than legal. *Praśna*, in course of time, came to denote a section or division of a thesis. Along with the *praśnin* of the *Yajur-Veda* and the *pravāchika* of the *Atharvan*, we may take the *Nirvachana* of the Brāhmaṇa literature, which is certainly connected etymologically with *Nirukta*, the science

[1] As in *Tait. Up.*, I, I, 13.
[2] *Śvet, Up.*, VI, 22 ; cp. *Mait.*, *B. Up.*, VI, 29.

of etymology. The best known work under this head is that of Yāska, who mentions no fewer than a dozen predecessors, of whom Aupamanyava, Aurṇa vābha, Śākapūṇi and Sthaulashṭhīvi are otherwise known.[1]

Of the other Vedāṅgas, *Śikshā* and *Chhandas* are already in evidence through the evolution of Vedic phonology, and early works on *Chhandas* are known to have existed, bearing the names of Yāska and Saitava, and on *Śiksha*, as preserved in the Māṇḍūki School. The earliest of the existing works is that of Piṇgala Nāga on Metrics, and of Vyāsa on Phonetics. *Vyākaraṇa* had a long history and development before the days of Pāṇini, who mentions at least sixty-four distinguished predecessors. In Yāska's day the Vaiyākaraṇa school of Gārgya stood in opposition to the Nairuktaka school founded by Śākaṭāyana. Stages in the evolution of stellar astronomy are marked by the mention of lunar asterisms and years in the hymns; the solar year, intercalation and cyclic years in the Brāhmaṇas; and the references to planets, vague in the Brāhmaṇas, but clear in the Upanishads. All this formed the subject-matter of the *Vedāṅga-Jyotisha.* The Vedāṅgas had come to be recognized as so important to Vedic study that they were given the appellation of *Pravachana*, corresponding to that of *Nirvachana* by which the Brāhmaṇas came to be known.[2]

[1] *T.B.*, III, 4: *āśikshāyai praśninam Upaśikshāyai abhipraśninam maryādāyai praśnavivākam.* Śākapūrṇi is a *Niruktakṛt* in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (p. 277). Another Sthaulashṭhīvi is mentioned by Yāska and Sāyaṇa. Nirukta is derived from *nirvach* (to explain).

[2] Kullūka has: *Pravachanānyangāni. Prochyate iti pravachanam. Śikshā* is from *śak* (to be able), and meant a desire to know. cf. *śakta* aṇd *śikshamāṇa* (teacher and pupil) in *R.-V.*, VII, 103, 5.

The Upavedas evolved in a similar way. Not only magic and witchcraft but the art of healing was evolved in the *Atharvan*. Even in the *Ṛg-Veda* there is mention of medicine-men. There was no prejudice against them, as there came to exist in later times, for we have references to Brāhmans having compounded and administered medicinal herbs. Rudra is invoked as the physician of physicians. Antidotes to poisons were the subject of specialized study, treatment for snake-bite and scorpion-sting being found in the *Ṛg-Veda*.[1]

Dhanur-Veda was developed in the course of wars, and was an appendage to *Yajur-Veda* ritualism. The excellence of the Aryas in the art of warfare, especially in cavalry, must have been the result of a rigorous training in the military schools, though we have no clear idea of their working. The war horse, unlike the humped bull, travelled to the west. Aryan coats of mail and sharp, iron-tipped arrows were a feature of the later Vedic period.

The principles of building were taught, along with ritualism, as in the construction of the Nachiketas fire-altar. Attention to arts and crafts may be inferred from the place of artisans in society, carpenters (*rathakāras*) and blacksmiths (*karmāras*) taking part in the election of the king. The former are among the king's inner councillors (*ratnins*).[2]

Gandharva-Veda may have evolved from the *Sāma* chant, and special singers of the hymns in musical

[1] *R.-V.*, X, 97, 22 ; II, 33, 4 ; I, 191, 10–16. In *R.-V.*, I, 34, 6, there is a reference to the three humours of the body (*pitta*, etc.).

[2] *T.B.*, III, 2 ; *A.-V.*, IV, 5, 6.

modes (*nītha*) are mentioned in the earliest strata of the *Ṛg-Veda*. There is reference in one hymn to seven musical notes, which are known as the seven *vāṇīs* elsewhere; and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* to musical instruments, such as wind-instruments and cymbals, and to orchestra (*vīṇā-gaṇagin*). The *Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa* divides fine art (*śilpa*) under the heads of dancing (*nṛtya*), singing (*gīta*) and instrumental music (*vādita*). As we shall see later, these formed the nucleus of the *Kalās* which were elaborately organized and standardized long before the Christian era.[1]

III

GERMS OF PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEMS

The germs of the later systems of Philosophy (*Darśanas*) and of the Epic and Purāṇic literature may also be traced in this age. *Itihāsa*, the nucleus of the epic, is mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas, along with explanations and glosses connected with Vedic texts (*anuvyākhyāna*, *pāriplava*), and sometimes appears under the variant form of *aitihyam*. It was a body of stories handed down by tradition. Allied to these were the *Kathas*—stories embodying the philosophical disquisitions of scholars, which were

[1] *R.-V.*, III, 12, 5; I, 6; 7, I; I, 164, 24; X, 32, 4; 14, 6; IX, I, 8; *S.B.*, XIII, I, 5, I; *K.B.*, 29, 4, 5. It is likely that the musical modes were adaptations from the tribal or folk-music of the day, and were associated with festive gatherings at which drinking was common: *Uktha ukthe Soma Indram mamāda Nīthe nīthe Maghavānam sutāsah.* We have clear evidence of convivial parties where eating and drinking were in vogue. cf. *sagdhi* and *sapīti* in *T.S.*, iv, 7.

gathered up into the *Purāṇa* in later times. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions Janamejaya as king of the Kurus and Janaka as king of Videha. There is mention of Āsuri, the famous teacher of the Sāṅkhya, and the legend of the Deluge is told for the first time. It is evidently an ancient story, as the Babylonian version is almost certainly a tame echo of the legend of the boat on the waters ('*On the apsu*' in Babylonian), and of the laughter, crying, and bursting into song, figuratively described in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*.[1] The Vedānta derives its name from the Upanishads, but its germs are also derivable from the Samhitā, and are clearly developed in the Brāhmaṇa literature, in numerous passages.

We thus have a vast body of literature bearing on the Vedic texts, developed in the various schools of study and interpretation :—the Śākhās, Vyūhas, and Charaṇas. There were at least four different schools of Vedic interpretation, known to Yāska :—*aitihāsika*, *ādhyātmika*, *ādhiyajñika*, and *svābhāvika*. The traditional learning was preserved and propagated by various families in different parts of the country. The patriarchal Gotras of the Aryas and the Kulas of spiritual teachers became special guardians of the composition of these schools, and of the improvements effected by them in the arrangement and order of studies. In course of time these gave place to new integrations of scholars—teachers and students—in the Charaṇas. Each Charaṇa or school of Vedic study had its own arrangement of texts, its own manner of application of texts to rituals, and its own rules for the conduct

[1] *Apsu nāvam pratishṭhitam. Hasitam, ruditam, gītam,* etc.; *T.A.*, I, 11.

and discipline of its members. The relationship by blood characteristic of the Gotra was now replaced by one of cultural traditions and socio-religious observances. Vital differences were discussed and settled in the Parishads convoked from time to time.[1] Enthusiasts could also address the informal gatherings of the sabhā, samiti, or vidatha.

The branches of Vedic auxiliary and scientific studies were developed and preserved in various stages in these schools. The sacred studies pertaining to each school formed the curricula for students there. Several lists of these have been preserved. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad*, for instance, we have Ṛg-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Sāma-Veda, Atharvāṅgiras, Upanishad, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, *Vidyā* (esoteric knowledge), *Ślokas* (sententious verses), *Sūtras* (aphorisms), *Anuvyākhyānas* (commentaries), and *Vyākhyānas* (expositions), which were not separate subjects, but were linked together in teaching. The *Chhāndogya Upanishad* has what looks like a later list, comprising the four Vedas, *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* as the fifth, and the Veda of the Vedas, by which I believe the Prātiśākhyas are meant, as from these were evolved gradually the Phonetics and Grammar of

[1] An assembly consisting of three or five Brāhmans, well-versed in the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas, is called a Parishad (*Parāśara*, VIII, 19). Even a single *muni* may constitute a Parishad (*ibid.* 20). A council consisting of thousands of persons who are Brāhmans only in name should not be honoured with the dignity of a Parishad (*ibid.* 21). The Parishad is convoked by the king (Parāśara, VIII, 35).

Vasishṭha says, ' four students of the four Vedas, one who knows the Aṅgas, a preceptor of the sacred law, three leading men of the three *āsramas*, and one who knows Mīmāmsā—constitute a Parishad.' (Chap. 3.)

Kim pārshadāni svacharanapārshadyeva yaih pratiśākham padāvagraha pragrihya kramasamhitāsvaralakshaṇamuchyate tānīmāni pārshadāni prātiśākhyānītyarthah (*Nirukta*, I, 17).

the *Nirukta*, and from these latter the later algebraical symbols of Pāṇini and his times. The other branches of study mentioned are those relating to the manes, augury (daiva), mythology (deva-vidyā), metaphysics (brahma-vidyā), military science (kshatra-vidyā), astronomy (nakshatra-vidyā), political deliberation (ekāyana), mathematics (rāśi), and esoteric lore (nidhi). To these are added the obscure bhūta-vidyā and sarpa-deva-jana-vidyā.[1]

IV

INFLUENCES OF CONTACT WITH NON-ARYANS

The last are probably to be explained with reference to the various branches of lore used in the last ten days of the Horse sacrifice. Besides the four Vedas we find used here the Sarpa-vidyā, Raksho-vidyā, Asura-vidyā, Itihāsa and Purāṇa. Raksho-vidyā is replaced in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* by a branch

[1] *Br. Up.* II, 4, 10; *Chh., Up.* VII, 1, 1, 2.

Rāśi refers to arithmetical magnitudes, but it is explained by Śaṅkara as *gaṇita*, which in his time included algebra (*bījagaṇita*). *Nidhi* cannot be said to have any reference to chronology as rendered by Hume in his 'Thirteen Upanishads.' It means esoteric science or lore, as in Yāska, II, 4 (*nidhipati*). It has the later sense of 'deposit' in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (*Nidhāyaka* in book 2, chap. 8, and *Nidhānam* in book 12, chap. 4).

Ekāyana is rendered as 'ethics' by Max Müller, and as monotheism by the authors of the *Vedic Index*. Hume suggests 'polity.' The word occurs in the *Rāmāyana* (Kish. Kāṇd., II, 9—*Ekamekāyanagatāh plavamānāh girergirim*), which suggests the sense in the text. This sense of 'military disposition' is clear also from the *Kauṭilīya*, book 10, chap. 2: *Ekāyanamārgaprayātasya . . . dhvajāyudhasamjñānena parabalajñānam.* See also book 13 (*pratipannam gahanam ekāyanam vā atinīya ghātayeyuh*).

Bhūtavidyā may probably be the same as *Piśāchaveda* mentioned in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (I, 10). *Bhūtabhāshā* is a well-known variant of *Paiśāchī* in later times.

of Devajana-vidyā, and Āśvalāyana in his *Gṛhya sūtra* has Piśācha-vidyā. We know that the Asuras were a non-Aryan people, and the Piśāchas likewise. Sarpa is another term for Nāgas, the snake-worshippers of South India, who have left us memorials in place-names and are referred to in later Sanskrit texts and in early South Indian inscriptions.

It will be clear from all this that the curriculum of studies evolving from the Vedic was in no sense a narrow one. It shows, already so early, the genius for comprehension, of the early Arya. It includes not only those secular studies which lay on the border-land of the Vedic, but the kinds of lore peculiar to the various classes of the people with whom the Aryas had come in contact or conflict. We are told in a neglected passage in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* that the Nāgas were masters in the art of hypnotizing and mesmerizing; the Rākshasas in that of assuming strange forms and guises; and the Piśāchas, in the use of unfair contrivances in warfare, such as sharp points and hurdles underneath the earth. The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* raises Sarpa-Veda, Asura-Veda, and Piśācha-Veda, along with Itihāsa and Purāṇa, to the dignity of 'the five newly created Vedas.' The grouping is significant as indicative of the popularization of Vedic lore in the form of Itihāsa and Purāṇas.[1]

Nor is it to be presumed that there was the same sombre and serious curriculum for all people in the Aryan fold. Among the arts and crafts mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas some are interesting as throwing light on the occupations in which the lower classes of the people were trained in this period.

[1] *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, II, 4; *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, I, 10.

As in the *Aśvamedha* we have reference to the n-Aryan branches of learning, so in the *Purusha-dha* we have the classification of people by fessions. Among them are noticeable the Sūta l the Māgadha, the legendary bard and the ditional historian, and the Ṛtula, whom the com-ntary describes as one in the habit of narrating es regarding kings and countries. These were educators of the people, and are mentioned along h the buffoon, wit, singer and dancer in the eets, the frequenter of female society, the en-eer and the architect, who belonged, as we know, the lower classes of society.[1]

This contact of the Aryas with other peoples was idental to their conquest and colonization of new ids. Among the teachers mentioned in the *ātiśākhya* are Pāñchālas and Prāchyas of the -*Veda*, Aupaśibis of the *Sāma-Veda*, and Utta-ttarīyas, Pushkarasādi and Plākshi of the *Yajur-da*. All these are territorial names. Among the aranas of the Yajus we find the Kaṭhas, Prāchya ṭhas, Āshṭhala Kaṭhas and Kapishṭhala Kaṭhas; Āsura school of the Hāridrava Māitrāyaṇīyas; d the Pauṇḍravatsas of the Vājasaneyins, some whom are mentioned by Pāṇini. The *Prātiśākhya* ntions the Gokula-charaṇa of the *Ṛg-Veda*.

V

VEDIC CULTURE AND THE MASSES

There are indications that in these new lands the yas not only preserved their cultural institutions

[1] *T.B.*, III, 4, 2 and 13.

but admitted the non-Aryas also to the cultural fold. The hymns referring to their missionary activities are obscure—the stories relating to Rebha, Antaka, Karkandhu and Vayya are not necessarily references to Aryan missionary efforts among the non-Aryas, as is made out by some writers. Nor is there any evidence in favour of the view that the *Gāyatrī* was originally composed, as the embodiment of Aryan faith and doctrine, for the benefit of non-Aryan converts. But there are unmistakable indications of Aryan religion and culture peacefully penetrating among foreigners. A remarkable instance is that of the Paṇis, who, it is complained, would not accept the worship of Agni. The Paṇis are described as greedy traders, in contrast to the bountiful Bribus. In more than one hymn of the *Atharva-Veda* Indra is styled merchant and patron of merchants. It is not impossible to identify the Paṇis with the Phœnicians. It would appear from these passages that the merchants of western Asia with whom the Aryas had trade relations preferred the worship of Indra, when they adopted Aryan gods, to that of Agni. The evidence of the Mitannic inscriptions also points in the same direction.[1]

The masses of Vedic India may not have been lettered or literate, but they were subject to cultural and educational influences. They had some sort of training in arts and crafts, many of which are mentioned in the Vedic texts. A system of symbolism; of folk-songs and dances;[2] festive gatherings

[1] *R.-V.*, VI, 45, 32; 51, 14. *A.-V.*, III, 15, 6.

[2] The Gandharva Veda was not the work of the lower orders of society. But in course of later ages it was relegated to them, even in Śrauta sacrifices.

at which the common people were present and carefully guarded communal customs and social usages served as agencies of mass education. The ceremonial rites connected with sacrifices taught the masses such important lessons as the need for union, friendly co-operation, and social service. Education in public life and in the duties of citizenship may be postulated from the existence of such organizations as Sabhā, Samiti, Nītha, and Vidatha. Co-operation of all classes in the country is implied in the ceremony of Royal Consecration (*Rājasūya*).

VI

WOMEN'S EDUCATION

There was in the real sense a system of education for women. Girls had a domestic education; they got training in the arts of house-keeping, and learnt in their teens how to conduct themselves. They were really the better halves of the family, and retained their individuality while taking active part in all departments of family-life. The housewife's chief care was the breeding of her babes, and the rearing of a new generation fit to bear the responsibilities of Aryan life. Sometimes she was an intellectual, and made noteworthy contribution to the cause of culture. Always was she the centre of happiness, and the abode of grace; loved by her husband, and the beloved of her children.

cf. *Dāsyo nṛtyanti* at the Gavāmayana and *Nṛittagītādikam tathā* | *ekajāterayam dharmah na kadāchit dvijanmanah.*|

Singing and dancing were particularly feminine accomplishments and are dubbed as ' unmanly ' in later Vedic texts (*Tait. Sam.*, VI, 1, 6, 5).

The parents were the girl's teachers early in life. The best part of her breeding consisted in her training to be modest, to conduct herself with grace, and form excellent habits. She awoke at dawn, and attended to such domestic duties as the milking of the cow. Girls were to 'cast their eyes downward and keep their feet close together.' They were considered mentally inferior to boys in general: 'The mind of a woman is not to be controlled, and her intellect is small.' But they had 'more of firmness and devotion, discerned the weak and worn, and relieved those who were thirsty and in want, unlike ungodly, niggardly men.' Their education aimed at making them good and kind rather than clever or learned. Yet we have instances like Viśvāvarā, Ghoshā, the protégé of the Aśvins, and Apālā, Atri's daughter, who as old maids living in their father's house, were able to compose hymns in praise of the gods. The Aryan girl took part in Vedic discussions, and mixed with the men in popular festivities. Non-Aryan girls appear to have joined the army in large numbers, as hymns speak of hundreds of them. In their case some military training may be presumed, as they played their part so well that men of the time did not regard it as easy or ungallant to war with women.[1]

The Vedic girl was taught that marriage was not for lust, but for domestic life and progeny, so that the Aryan mode of life may be continued for ever. In her husband's house she held a respected position, and was at the head of affairs. The measure of her success was the extent to which she could identify

[1] *R.-V.*, v, 61; 80, 6; VII, 78, 5; VIII, 33, 19; 91;

herself with her husband's home, and wean her affections from her father's house. It was held undesirable for her to reside in her father's, even though she might have no brothers. The wife was the 'half of the husband' and was entitled to present all oblations with him. The husband was her natural teacher, and it was held his duty to teach her the Veda.[1] Among the Vedic hymnists are many housewives. But the Vedic wife was to be subordinate to her husband, to be well attired and pleasing even like the goddess of the Dawn, to conciliate him in the event of a quarrel, and to bring him back to a sense of his worldly duties when he, lost in religious meditation, showed an insensate disregard of the householder's *Dharma*. In one hymn we have a housewife reminding her husband that the ancient sages did attend to the begetting of progeny, and did not consider their spiritual progress hampered thereby.[2]

The Vedic girl was not required to surrender her individuality. When she was a maid she was the object of masculine attention and was regarded as uncertain, fickle and hard to please. The frequent prayers for the concord of husband and wife in the texts are certain proof that feminine subservience could not be taken for granted, and co-operation had to be prayed for. In the absence of the general education of girls it would be difficult to account for the terms of equality that subsisted between husband and wife in this period. Evidence of ladies taking

[1] See *Vedam patnyai pradāya vāchayet* in *Āśv. Śr. Sūt.*, I, 11.

[2] *R-V.*, VIII, 31, 9; I, 179, 2; V, 61, 8; V, 78, 4; VII, 76, 3. *Tait. Br.*, III, 3, 3.

part in advanced Vedic studies is found in 'stage' directions in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and the *Aitareya Upanishad*, where ladies are directed to leave the hall of learning where some principles of gynecology were explained, which are indelicate for the female ear. Women sages, like Maitreyī, who holds her own against her husband Yājñavalkya in the discussion of the highest metaphysical truths, may be regarded as exceptional instances; but we may regard the Vedic wife as trained by nurture and society to be a fit helpmate for her husband. The introduction of Umā in the *Kenopanishad* is illustrative of the great regard the poet and sage had for the educative power of the woman, even as regards the highest metaphysical truths and their teaching.[1]

The chief lesson impressed on the Vedic girl was how to prove a fit mother and nurse. This appears from numerous hymns which are outside the regular collection. They impress on the parents the need for complete concord and agreement, and for harmony with the laws of nature, to ensure the real happiness of the babe to be born. It is clearly recognized that the mother, as she is the first, is also the most powerful of educators, whose influence in the nine months of pregnancy would make or mar the child's welfare in after-life. There were detailed rules as to her conduct and behaviour when unwell. It was considered that the mentality of the child depended on the mother, when in her period, and just before

[1] *R.-V.*, v, 28; *Tait. Āraṇ.*, I, 13; *Ait. Up.*, III; *Kena Up.* A *kumārī Gandharvagṛhītā* is quoted as *viśeshābhijñā* (of excellent intellect) in *Kauś. Br.*, II, 9 and *Ait. Br.*, V, 29. Some of these women-saints are mentioned, e.g., Gārgī, Vāchaknavī, Vaḍavā, Pratidheyī, Sulabhā, and Maitreyī (*Āśv. Gṛ. Sūt.*, III, 4).

and during pregnancy. If she thinks of things holy and serene, enjoys peace and happiness, and finds her atmosphere congenial, she can stimulate the child's mental faculties, induce patriotic and other virtues, and instil spiritual force into its mind. When she is *enceinte*, the prayer is to secure her health and that of the fœtus, so that both might be alive after the parturition. The expectant mother has her surroundings solemn and silent, which lay the foundations of the spiritual training of the future child. Her chief aim in domestic life is indeed to bear and rear babies—ten sons—so that she might count the husband as the eleventh in the household.[1]

VII

JUVENILE EDUCATION

The nature and aim of juvenile education may be gathered from the hymns used at the ceremonies of purification. Those of the *Jātakarma* draw attention to the need for the service of humanity with an abiding faith in the Omnipotent, and for building the babe's physique, by attention to the breast-milk of the mother. On this latter circumstance depended not only the life of the tender one, but its natural endowment of strength and its mental and moral qualities (*āyur varcho yaśo balam*). It is emphasized that the formation of the babe's mentality is the most important point for attention from the very moment of its birth. Other hymns analyse

[1] *Daśāsyām putrānādhehi patimekādaśam Kṛdhi*; *A.-V.*, VI, 2, 19; *Ekāgni Kāṇḍa*, II, 11.

the various causes of babe-ailment, and though they are professedly spells and charms, serve to emphasize the need for the prevention of such causes. A spirit of cheery optimism and a sense of the joyousness of life are sought to be instilled into the child almost from birth, as at the name-giving ceremony (*nāmakaraṇa*)—which was certainly in vogue at least as early as the *Yajur-Veda*—by the friends and relatives assembled for the purpose. The hymns used at the feeding ceremony (*anna-prāśana*) emphasize the importance of cleanliness and care in cooking, and point out that health and vigour depend on the quality of water and of the foodstuffs used. Several hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda* imply that the natural instincts must never be crushed in the rearing of children. Those used at the initiation-ceremony (*upanayana*) enjoin the child to keep good company, to take the vows of poverty and abstinence, to speak the truth, and to become the child of the community, begging for alms, respecting educated and advanced souls, and aiming at peace with all beings. There was to be self-imposed discipline as regards food, the use of harsh and meaningless words, and a tendency to inertia and repose. Hymns of the *Yajur* and *Atharva Vedas* remind one of the rules for his future guidance. He was to get rid of every kind of heat—passion, struggle and turmoil—which might impede the progress of the soul. He was to keep himself fit, to take special care of his teeth and eyes and of his health. He should acquire fame and glory, the good-will of his fellows, and esteem at the hands of all. He was to mould his conduct after Vedic ideals, and develop

an attitude of real humility, which was the crown of true education.[1]

VIII

INITIATION

The rules of initiation may be gleaned from the sixth book of the *Atharva-Veda.* The rites of consecration partake of the nature of charms and spells and emphasize the importance of certain events in the child's career. We have, for instance, the purification of the fœtus by hymns and spells, the ceremonial washing of the babe as soon as it was born,[2] when it cut its first teeth, and when it was first introduced to regular diet.[3] But the greatest and the most important of these rites was dedication to Vedic study and initiation to sacred lore.

The initiation ceremony lasted for three days[4] during which time the spiritual teacher (Āchārya) was considered as conceiving his pupil in himself and ushering him forth into a new (second) life. The badge worn was the muñja girdle, which made the student a Brahmachārin.[5] The Twice-born boy then worshipped the Fire by putting fuel into it.[6] The ceremonial dress after initiation was an upper garment of black buck-skin (*vavṛ*), or of cloth (*parodhānam*). The clothing was of wool or of

[1] *A.-V.*, XI, 4, 16; *Eka. Kāṇḍ.*, II, 13 and 14; *R.-V.*, II, 21, 6: III, 36, 10; X, 148 and 158; VI, 68; VI, 17; *Vāj. Sam.*, VII, 28, 29.

[2] *A.-V.*, XI, 10.

[3] *A.-V*, VI, 140.

[4] *A.-V.*, XI, 5, 3.

[5] *A.-V.*, VI, 153.

[6] *R.-V.*, X, 109, 5.

cotton, and was usually coloured red or blue. The family of the Vasishṭhas was distinguished from others by their colourless or white clothes. The upper garment, whether of skin or cloth, hung from the left shoulder, was wound about the body, and tucked under the right shoulder. This was the *Upavīta* mode, invariably adopted at religious rites, study and prayer. Its significance is in its being regarded as the badge of Brahmacharya (continence) or concentration and accumulation of energy. The *Saṃvīta* mode, allowing the cloth to hang down on both sides from the neck, was adopted when the initiated were at the routine duties of daily life. It was akin to the mode of tying the waist-band practised by the Asuras, possibly the Asurs and Assyrians, and denoted gaiety in the eyes of the Aryas. At the offering to the manes the mode known as *Prāchīnāvīta* was adopted, allowing the cloth to hang down from the right shoulder and under the left arm. In later times, the cloth was apparently replaced by a sacred thread of three strands. It was usually home-spun, as home-spun articles were invariably used on sacred occasions, like the gift of *Brahmaudanam*. The triple thread was apparently held to be of magical potency, as the amulet for securing long life and prosperity was also three-stranded in the *Atharva-Veda*, having strands of gold, silver and iron.[1]

The initiation was really an entry from the boy's to the teacher's family (Gurukula), and the boy usually remained a scion of the latter, consecrating

[1] *R.-V.*, I, 166, 10; V, 44, 11; VII, 33, 1; *A.-V.*, XI, 5, 4; IX, 10; VIII, 2, 16; V, 28; XI, 1; XII, 3.

himself to study and service and moving in the company of his fellow-students. He was to scorn delights and live laborious days, letting his hair grow till he was sixteen years old, when the *Godāna* ceremony signalized his entry into the family and clan of his father. But studentship was not over till he became a *Snātaka* years later. After the *Godāna* he could wear the hair as he pleased, and usually this was done in the Aryan mode. We find it stated, for instance, that the Vasishṭhas had their tuft of hair to the right (*dakshiṇatah kapardāh*).[1] The mode of wearing the hair and the manner of shaving were not the same for the Aryas as for the non-Aryas and Asuras.

There was a similar initiation for girls in the Vedic times. The reference to the sacred vesture or triple thread of Sarasvatī bears clear evidence to this effect. The girdle tied round the boy's waist at the initiation has its counterpart in the girdle tied round the wife's waist at sacrifices, which represents her *Upanayanam*, according to the Brāhmaṇas.[2]

The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* explains the ceremony of initiation as the second or spiritual birth of the initiated. The consecration (*Dīkshā*) was the conception, and the ceremonial bath corresponded to the bathing of a new-born child. His eyes were anointed with the collyrium, and his body purified with twenty-one blades of sacred grass. The hall

[1] *Dakshiṇa' ıpardāh Vasishṭhāh Ātreyāstrikapardınah.*
Angirasāh pañchachūdāh mundāh Bhrigavah śikhinonye.
(See *Grihyasangrahapariśishṭha*, by the son of Gobhila, quoted in Roth: *Essays on the Veda*, p. 120.)

[2] *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 3, 2, 37.

of learning was his birth-place, where he moved and had his being; the new clothes and buck-skin he was given to wear symbolized the outer covering of the embryo. The folded fist had in it all the gods; and the offerings were for long life and prosperity, health and strength, fame and stewardship among men, and spiritual insight and religious splendour. The text evolves all this from the symbolism of the number of syllables used in each of the verses employed. It winds up with a caution to the initiated to speak the truth always, 'for the *Dīkshā* is the truth and reality; therefore, must the student be circumspect and guarded in his utterance,' since 'all the gods from Agni to Vishṇu are invoked and are present.'

IX

UPANISHADS—ORIGIN AND MEANING

The terms *Upanī* and *Upanishad* acquired technical meanings in this period. *Upa* as a prefix is always used in the *Ṛg-Veda* in a sacred sense. We have, for instance, *Namasā upasīdata* in *R.-V.*,[1] meaning 'approach with praise.' The word is connected with *Upāsana*. In fact, in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[2] *Upāsate* and *Upanishādinīm karoti* are used in the same sense. We have *Ni* in the common word, *Nyāsam*. The prefixes are used with *Diś* also —*Ādeśa*, *Upadeśa*, etc. The term *Upanishad* does not merely mean faith as is usually supposed. It has been overlooked that the full word is *Vedopanishad*. In *yadeva vidyayā karoti śraddhayā*

[1] *R.-V.*, IX, 11, 6.
[2] *Śat. Br.*, I, 3, 4, 15 *and* IX, 4, 3, 3.

upanishadā[1] *Vidyā* is a kind of knowledge, *Sraddhā* is faith, and *Upanishad* the hidden meaning and import of the text derived from residential study under a teacher. I would derive the words therefore from *Upa, Ni, I* (to go over) and *Sad* (to remain) and am supported in the derivation by a comparison with *Svādhyāya,* [*Adhī, I*] *āmāyantu brahmachāriṇah,* and *eshā vedopanishad.*[2]

X

CLASSES OF TEACHERS

Brāhmans had the duty of teaching in the Vedic age, and those who did not do it were the butt of society. The perfection of the people (*lokapakti*) was the object of such teaching. Teaching and learning were so common a feature of this age that Vedic texts disclose several classes of teachers. We have in the first place the Gurus, who stood in *loco parentis* to the disciples dwelling with them and imparted to each the knowledge for which he was fit. Some pupils remained with their Guru for life. There were apparently different grades among these Gurus—Āchārya, Srotriya, Mahāsrotriya, Kulaguru, Sramaṇa, Tāpasa and Vātaraśana. The Āchārya and Kulaguru were in charge of numbers of pupils, who flocked to them from far and near. Srotriya was one in whom the baser passions had been subdued by generations of Vedic study and contemplation. Tāpasas were those who practised austerity and taught the people who went to them. Vātaraśanas denote ascetics in the *Rig-Veda,* and their teachings

[1] *Chhāndogya Upanishad* I, I, 9.
[2] *Tait. Up.,* I, 4, *and* II.

are mentioned in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*. The Munis are described in the *Rig-Veda* as long-haired ascetics of magic powers, with some divine *afflatus* (*deveshita*), and in later texts as profound students practising austerities. One text seems to identify them with the Vaikhānasas, but another describes them as Brāhmans disgusted with the world, leading lives of child-like simplicity, and on the path of spiritual realization. They were teachers of the highest order. With these we may class the Tāpasas and the Vātaraśanas. All these were forest-dwellers, and their teachings have been preserved for us in the Āraṇyakas.

Again, there were teachers outside the regular class of Brāhmans, though such were unusual. We have references to Kshatriya teachers—Janaka, Ajātaśatru, Jaivali, Śīlaka, Dalbhya and Kaikeya.[1]

There were wandering scholars, who went through the country and engaged in discourses and dissensions, and won the prizes staked by disputants. We have references to *Brahmavādin*, with the variants *Brahmavādya* and *Brahmodya*. The title of *Vipra* or *Kavi* was the reward of a scholar who had beaten the others. Such debates and disputations are mentioned in the *Atharva-Veda*, where the opener (*Prāśa*) and the opponent (*Pratiprāśa*) are contrasted. The questioner, the cross-questioner and the judge at a disputation are mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa literature.[2]

[1] *R.-V.*, III, 26, 9 ; X, 136, 2, 4 and 5 ; *A.-V.*, VII, 109, 7 ; *Śat. Br.*, III, 6, 2, 15. *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XIV, 4, 7 ; *Tait. Āraṇ.*, I, 1 ; *Br. Up.*, III, 4, 1 and III, 7 ; *Ch. Up.*, II, 23, 2.

[2] *A.-V.*, XI, 3 ; XV, 1 ; *Tait. Sam.*, II, 5, 9, 1 ; *A.-V.*, II, 27, 1 and 7. *Śat. Br.*, XI, 4, 1, 1, *Kauśitaki Br.*, XXVI, 5 ; *Br. Up.*, III, 3, 1 ; III, 6, 4 ; *Tait. Br.*, III, 4.

Lastly, there were the less orthodox schools of scholars, the Sthaviras, the Śramaṇas and the Charakas. The Śramaṇas were teachers now strictly in the orthodox fold, though departing from tradition in later times. The *Kauśitakī Brāhmaṇa* mentions Sthavira (Elder), apparently a religious teacher, judging by the use of the term (like Śramaṇa) in later times. The Prātiśākhya mentions *Śākalya-Pitṛ* as a Sthavira, and the founder of a Rig-Vedic school. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions Charakas as teachers, but they are dedicated to ill-doing in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, and had apparently developed secular arts like rope-dancing. But some of the Charakas continued as Vedic teachers, and Pāṇini has made mention of them[1].

By the end of the Vedic period, there were teachers of all sorts going about the country. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad* sounds a note of warning. It describes false teachers of various classes—those who were hilarious, going abroad begging, and living on handicraft ; those who had a smattering of sacred texts and were going about begging in towns; rogues who displayed their braids of hair and adopted mendicancy; those who allayed the influence of evil spirits for a consideration ; those who imposed on the people by wearing earrings, red robes and skulls ; and, lastly, those teachers who practised deception by arguing in cycles and epicycles and by the use of false and illogical examples.

[1] IV, 3, 107

XI

THE IDEAL TEACHER

Some idea of the qualities expected of the teacher may be gleaned from stray references in the texts. The teacher was to be a very store-house of knowledge, full of sympathy and charity, cheerful and lively and of engaging manners ; leading a pure and blameless life, orderly in habits and regular in routine, gifted with a sense of proportion and having the courage of conviction ; with a magnetic personality ; capable of enforcing discipline ; with an optimistic outlook on life, and intent on social service. He was to be kind to all, and gentle and pure in speech. He was to have a passion for profundity and to live by begging. Not only professed students, but people at large were to be educated. In the Upanishads we have a further list of the qualifications expected of a teacher. He was to come of a family of Vedic teachers and be intent on the acquisition of the highest experience. The teacher must work with heart and soul, and be like a parent unto his disciples. He must add the force of his example to the influence of precept : the teacher was not what he taught, but what he was. 'As one acts, he becomes—good by good deeds, bad by evil ; what action he performs, into that does he become changed.' Some teachers were so far-famed as to attract pupils from foreign lands. One such of the Mādra country is mentioned,[1]

[1] *R.-V.*, I, 53, I ; I, 63, 2 ; *Śat. Br.*, II, 3, 2, 12, 46 ; III, 2, I, 24 ; XI, 5, 7, I ; *Br. Up.*, III, 88 ; IV, I ; VI, 3, 12 ; *Ch. Up.*, III, I, 5 ; *Śvet. Up.*, VI, 22 ; *Muṇḍ. Up.*, III, 2, 10.

He was to impart the highest knowledge to his eldest son or to a worthy disciple and to no one else, provided the recipient was tranquil in mind. He was to be large-hearted and to conceal nothing from his pupil if he had stayed with him for a year. He should impress the essential points and impart true knowledge, after making sure of the earnestness and level of intelligence of the pupil, and satisfying himself as to his character. In one of the Upanishads we are introduced to the sage Pippalāda, who asks his questioners to spend a year with him, in austerity, purity, and single-minded devotion to knowledge. The *Guru* was remarkable for his humility. He would answer the questions put 'if he had the knowledge needed'; there was no idea of palming off false knowledge as true, or posing as an authority on matters outside the direct range of one's own study and experience. It is part of the valedictory address of the *Guru* to his disciple, that the latter should listen with respect and veneration to those who were greater than himself, and that his own example might be followed only in so far as his conduct was above reproach.[1]

XII

THE STUDENT

The first quality insisted on in the student was a thirst for knowledge, and earnestness in the pursuit thereof (*śraddhā*). We have a good instance in the *Kaṭha Upanishad*, where Nachiketas applies to the

[1] *Praśna Up.*, I, 1; *Tait. Up.*, I, 11.

God of Death for the highest *vidyā* (that of the *Ātman*). Yama puts him off the right track with a view to test his earnestness, by holding before him the bait of worldly pleasure. But Nachiketas' temper is true as steel, and he urges his request for the knowledge of the *Ātman*, compared to which the promise of power and pelf were as nought to him.

A preparation or apprenticeship of some kind was obligatory. In the *Muṇḍakopanishad*[1] learning was to be imparted only to those who had undergone a certain discipline (*Śirovrata*). In the *Praśnopanishad* students just received are asked to spend a year in contemplation, continence and earnest inquiry.[2] Sometimes the period of apprenticeship was prolonged to test the students' fitness to be the recipients of the desired knowledge. Aspirants for spiritual light were expected to train themselves in the methods of self-control, and acquire purity of mind in the period of waiting, for the highest results were not attained otherwise.[3] They must be of good conduct (charita), tranquil (śānta), composed (samāhita) and peaceful in mind (śāntamanāh).[4] To these qualities expected are added elsewhere, fortitude, eagerness (apramāda) and right notion of austerity (tapas).[5]

Once admitted, the pupil was to reside with his teacher. He must approach him in all reverence,[6] with some small present like a stick or a faggot in

[1] III, 2, 10. [2] *Cf.*, *Nirukta*, II, 4.
[3] *Śvet. Up.*, VI, 22; *Maitrāyaṇi Up.*, VI, 29; *Kaṭh Up.*, II, 24; *Muṇḍ. Up.*, III, I, 5.
[4] *Kaṭh. Up.*, II, 24. [5] *Muṇḍ. Up.*, III, 2, 4.
[6] *Ch. Up.*, IV, 4.

token of homage. He must never show hatred or ill-will towards his teacher.[1] He must wear the badge of studentship. He was required to conform to the code of discipline laid down for him, which aimed at concentration of intellectual effort and at integrity and stability of character. The most important principle under this head was Brahmacharya, the practice of continence, on which the Upanishads insist, and for breach of which, even though unwittingly caused, the Brāhmaṇas impose strict penalties.

A spirit of inquiry and criticism was expected and encouraged. The aspirants for learning were asked to put questions, *ad libitum*.[2] Though thus earnest attempts to solve an honest doubt or problem were looked on with favour, hyper-criticism was put out of countenance. Yāska lays down that a *Śāstra* should not be taught to a fault-finding or prejudiced person.

A pupil was required to do service,[3] not always menial, but menial also if required. Under this head have to be brought the collection of fuel, begging for alms and tending the teacher's cattle, which are mentioned as the duties of the disciple in the *Atharva-Veda*[4] and the Upanishads, and even general care-taking of the teacher's household affairs.[5] This was not grudged in an age when free tuition and gratuitous boarding were provided for pupils.

[1] *Tait. Āran* 1; *Tait. Up*, *Śānti Mantra*.
[2] *Yathā kāmam praśnān pṛchhata* in *Praśnopanishad*.
[3] *Nirukta*., II, 4.
[4] *A.-V.*, XI, 5, 4 and XI, 6, 9; *Ch. Up.*, IV, 5, 5.
[5] *Śat. Br.*, III, 6, 2, 15.

XIII

ORGANIZATION

The course of studentship lasted for twelve years, sometimes even thirty-two years, or for life. It commenced at different ages for different classes of students. Brāhman youths commenced their study between the ages of eight and sixteen; Kshatriyas, eleven to twenty-two, and Vaiśyas, twelve to twenty-four.[1] We are told of Śvetaketu that he had his studentship from twelve to twenty-four. Sometimes old men became pupils, like Āruṇi,[2] and sometimes the pupil remained with the Guru all his life. In one place it is stated that a man who approached his Āchārya at twelve emerged a *Snātaka* at thirty-six.[3]

The school year began in the rainy season,[4] and the Brāhmans 'never neglected the season but kept up the twelve months' god-appointed order.' The year began usually on the Full-Moon day of *Śrāvaṇa* (August–September). Vedic study was compulsory, and no day was regarded as a holiday except when the person of the student was impure ceremonially or by illness, or when there was impurity in the locality.[5] In fact, daily study (svādhyāya) and recitation (pravachana) were regarded as austerity (tapas).[6] There is no mention in Vedic literature of holidays such as the first day of the fortnight (pratipat) mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The school

[1] *Ch. Up.*, VI, 1, 2. [2] *Br. Up.*, XIV, 1, 6.
[3] *Ch. Up.*, IV, 10; VI, 1; 9; VII, 7, 3 and VIII, 7, 15.
[4] *R.-V.*, VII, 103, 9. [5] *Tait. Āraṇ.*, II, 14.
[6] *Tait. Up.*, I, 1.

year closed about the Full-Moon day of *Tishya* (January–February).

Some of the schools, especially in the forest-regions, had a large number of students. Teachers vied with each other in their capacity to attract the student-population, and considered pupils as 'wealth, glory and happiness.'[1] Discipline in these institutions was by no means easy, especially since punishments were, not as in the Egyptian system, unknown to the Aryan scheme of education. We have consequently frequent prayers for concord between teacher and pupil, and warning of the evil consequences of a possible rupture.[2] Some students wandered about from one teacher to another, engaged in disputations, and also acted as teachers (Charakas).

XIV

DISCIPLINE

There were certain rules of discipline which were enjoined on the student. The study was to be carried on silently (manasā), if in the village, and loudly (vāchā) outside. One was to repeat the texts loudly at noon-time.[3] He was to face the east or the north-east and sip water three times. While new texts were being studied, certain holidays were in observance, but there was no break allowed when one was reciting the scriptures of one's own Vedic school. Such holidays were due to rough wind, rain, thunder, lightning and storm, and the New-Moon. Study of one's own scriptures on

[1] *Tait. Up.*, I, I. [2] *Tait. Up.*, II, I. [3] *Tait. Āraṇ.*, II, II, 15.

these days was regarded as austerity.[1] The student was to repeat his texts, at least one *Ṛk* every day.

There were restraints in the Vedic age as regards the food, rest, etc., of the students. 'The wise have established seven rules of conduct. He who deviates from them is a sinner.'[2] The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* has these details: The student was not to eat flesh, especially of aquatic creatures; he was to observe the vow of continence, avoid high seats, and speak the truth.[3] He was not to run when it rained or to tread on gold or on the lotus flower; he was to refrain from voiding rheum, or committing nuisance in the mass of waters intended for bathing in.[4] One of the excellent habits inculcated was that of early rising, another of having clean finger nails and teeth. These were enforced with religious sanction.[5] He was to be punctual and particular about the twilight worships (*sandhyā*). There were strict rules compelling avoidance of the company of people of dirty habits, from whom he was not to accept even presents. Brāhmans who did not keep the sacred fires were to be particularly shunned.

The greatest restraint was as regards the sexual impulses. Herein the Aryas were strong as compared with their enemies the Dasyus, who are laughed at as *Śiśnadevāh*, a term which Yāska interprets as 'men of loose sexual habits'[6]—men who did not practise the Aryan virtue of continence. Elsewhere, we are told that the Aryas were able to vanquish the united army of the Asuras entirely

[1] *Tait. Āraṇ.*, II, 14. [2] *R.-V.*, X, 5, 6. [3] *Tait. Br.*, II, 8, 7.
[4] *Tait. Āraṇ.*, I, 26; II, 8, 7. *Tait. Sam.*, II, I.
[5] *Tait. Br.*, III. [6] *R.-V.*, VIII, 2, I, 5; X, 99, 3.

by their *Brahmacharya tapas*, i.e. the stability of character arising from the curbing of the sexual impulses.[1] It was held that this consummation was out of the question for those who were not clean and abstemious in diet.[2] Emission of vital energy was regarded as a besetting sin. Deliberate acts resulting in loss of seed were regarded as acts of theft and of murder of embryo.[3] And the killing of human seed (vīrahatyā) was as heinous a sin as the slaughter of Brahman or the murder of a fœtus.[4] Even unconscious emission of the vital fluid has its expiatory rites; for it implied not only loss of health and strength, and shortening of life, but loss of intellectual and spiritual power. It was thus a sin against Indra, Agni, and Brhaspati.[5] The expiatory rite was an offering in Fire on the New-Moon day to Kāma (Cupid) to whose working in the conscious or sub-conscious region of the mind the happening was evidently attributed.

XV

DISCIPLINE AND INSTRUCTION

Discipline was held of much greater value than instruction, and the most important work of the educator was to help the student to get into an

[1] *Tait. Āraṇ.*, II, I. [2] *Tait. Āraṇ.*, II, I.

[3] *Tait. Br.*, II, 8, 2.

[4] Compare the list of offences in the *Tṛsuparna*. The degrees are *Brahmahatyā*, *Bhrūṇahatyā* and *Vīrahatyā*. *Yathā Bhrūṇahā evam esha bhavati yah ayonau retah siñchati* (*T.A.*, II, 8, 2). *Ā no vīro jāyatām* in *Tait. Sam.*, II, I. *Kūshmāṇḍairjuhuyāt yo āpūta iva manyate*, and *Yad arvāchino bhrūṇahatyāyāh tasmāt muchyate* (*T.A.*, II, 8, 3).

[5] *Tait. Āraṇ.*, II, 18.

orderly routine of life. Lessons were regarded as lost upon the students unless they became imbued with divine effulgence (*tejas*). Knowledge was not an end, but the means to a higher end. Brāhmans who had the profoundest learning looked on living like a child as a higher step in evolution ; instructing others by example and precept as still higher ; and, as the highest of all, the realization of the universal principle (*Brahman*) in all acts, words and thoughts.[1] Until a man got the permanent habit of being truthful (Satyapratishṭhā), he could not realize the truth, which was the highest aim of culture and the greatest goal of education.[2]

One such discipline consisted in the worship of the Sun as the universal spirit. We have numerous references in the Vedas[3] to the three worships in the day—morning, midday and evening—in the *Samhitā* as well as the *Brāhmaṇa* portion. In the *Āraṇyaka* we have not merely the worship of the *Savitr*, but clear reference to twilight worship (sandhyā).[4] The main purpose of these worships and the prayers used in them was to remind the individual that his success in life and spiritual welfare alike depended on his energies running into line with the principles of the life universal.

This is illustrated by the *Gāyatrī* hymn with which handfuls of water are to be offered to the Sun.[5] 'We meditate on that adorable effulgence of the lord Savitr from whom we derive the stimulus for our mental strivings and our activities.' The

[1] *Br. Up.*, III, 4, I.
[2] *Tait. Āraṇ.*, II, 11 ; IV.
[3] E.g., *R.-V.*, III, 56, 6.
[4] *Tait. Āraṇ.*, II, I.
[5] *Tait. Āraṇ.*, II, I.

hymn is so worded that it could be applied as motive power to the student of whatever grade, whether he worships a personal god or the universal spirit. The object of these hymns was to establish a habit of righteousness, apart from intellectual conviction, by working on the sub-conscious region of the mind.[1]

The prayer of the Brāhman when at his meal is of the same tenor. 'Oh *Savita*, lord and first cause of production, I see before me the visible effects of thy work (satyam) amidst the mystery of the things unseen (ṛtam). Oh water, thou art the symbol of the mystery of eternity, being at the bottom of all creation, and the cover of all, encompassing all in thy infinite expanse. I take this food for the upkeep of the vital airs in the body, with a drop of moistening water to prepare the alimentary system for its work. May the food I take be an offering to universal *Brahman* so that I may be fed with the waters of everlasting life.' The food, says another hymn, is of god. In the highest sense of the word, everything in this world is either food or the feeder. Water is the food, Fire the feeder; life's duration is the food for the feeder, this body. Earth is the food of the feeder, space (ākāśa).[2] The food and the feeder depend on each other. He who realizes this becomes one with food as well as with the feeder; he feeds on all things that are, and is free.[3]

[1] As the Lord Chief Justice pointed out recently, 'a man might know that what he did was wrong, and yet by reason of dire disease of mind, might be uncontrollably impelled to do that act' (*Centenary Number* of the *Lancet*). To prevent such brain-storms was the purpose of prayer, especially for *Śānti*.

[2] *Tait. Up.*, III, 7–9.

[3] *Tait. Up.*,—*ahamannam ahamannādaḥ . . . kāmānnī kāmarūpyanusañcharan . . . aham viśvaṃ bhuvanamabhyabhavām*,

The hymns to the waters repeated by him at his bath not only remind him of the universal water which flow in all the streams from the Ganges onwards, but of his sins and transgressions, committed in eating forbidden food (fed by the waters) which might excite wrong passions, in drinking, or in accepting things from greed. The student is disciplined so to order his daily life as to consider acts of routine from the highest point of view.

XVI

METHODS OF EDUCATION

As regards methods of education, the first noteworthy principle is that of memorizing and even learning by rote. There are prayers for memory (medhā) : 'May the Lord endow me with medhā ; may we learn much and learn by the ear, and may we retain what we have thus learnt.'[1] Elsewhere, there are prayers that what is learnt may remain implanted in the mind and not desert the learner.[2] The Sūtra literature had its origin in the literary effort of society to make everything easy of being committed to memory. This method, which is characteristically Indian, had certainly some advantages. It accounts for the acuteness of the Indian intellect in Mathematics, the brain centres of memory for words being, as we know, intimately connected with those for figures. And the secret of memory is repetition. In the *Ṛg-Veda* we have reference to learners (Śikshamāṇa) repeating their lessons in concert after the teacher (Śakta), as frogs do after

[1] *Tait. Up.*, I, 4. [2] *Ait. Up.*, I, I,

the first showers, with uplifted voice.[1] But memorizing was liable to be mistaken for an end in itself, and the later Vedic texts sound a note of warning. They stigmatize a mere memorizer as a living pillar (sthāṇu) or bearer of burden (bhārahāra).[2] The exaltation of the virtue of tapas (meditation and reflection) points also in the same direction. The *Maitrāyaṇī Upanishad*[3] teaches us that the supreme knowledge (jñāna) is the result of learning (vidyā), reflection (chintā), and austerity (tapas). Through introspection (tapas) one was to attain goodness (satva), thence purity of mind, and, lastly, satisfaction of the soul.[4]

The usual method is to argue from the known to the unknown, from the simple to the complex, from the concrete to the abstract. This is in evidence in all dialogues and discussions met with in the Upanishads. But the Indian application of these elementary rules of pedagogy is distinguished by the goal always kept in view, namely, religion and philosophy. All arts and sciences branched off from religious (Vedic) studies and were gradually differentiated; but they were always helpful to the active religious life, and led to it, in contrast to Greek culture where the arts were autonomous and were independent of religion. All literary roads led to Ātmajñāna and Brahmajñāna (knowledge of the self). In the very first hymn to Agni in the *Ṛg-Veda* he is prayed to as lighting up the Path (*Ṛtasya dīdivim*). The *Tait. Up.* begins with evolving philosophy out of the hymnal literature (*Samhitāyā upanishadan vyākhyāsyāmah*).

[1] *R.-V.*, VII, 103, 5 and 9. [2] *Nirukta*, I, 18.
[3] *Mait. Up.*, IV, 3, 4. [4] *Ibid.*

XVII

SCIENTIFIC METHOD

The Indian method in positive sciences was observation of facts and induction, in contrast with the bent of the Greek for deduction. We have evidence of minute observation of detail in stellar astronomy, where researches went as far as they could go without the aid of the telescope. The description of Nakshatras[1] with reference to the number of stars in several constellations, the notice of changes in the position of Arundhatī, the myth regarding the Hunter (Orion) and the legends about the relations of the Moon are evidences of this fact. That mathematical analysis and accuracy was the aim is indicated by the references to the various cycles of years and sacrifices, besides the routine intercalary months, and to years of different denominations.

Another feature of Indian methodology is the reduction of everything to a system, thus accounting for the origin of the various arts and sciences (śilpa and kalā). System-making was carried so far, even in the Vedic period, that we get a clear view of the differentiation of the branches of knowledge. We have already the materials in regard to dietetics, for instance, in all its aspects—

[1] *Tait. Br.*, I, I. But such observation and analysis went hand in hand with reflection and ratiocination. It was thus that the Vedic bard had discovered that 'the sun never really sets or rises' (*Ait. Br.*, III, 44), and that there were several stages in the evolution of the embryo: 'breath, eye, ear, strength, limbs, and speech' (*Tait. Sam.* and *Kauś. Br.*, III, 2).

æsthetic, medicinal and religious. The æsthetic aspect is emphasized in the epithets *āmāda*, (eater of raw food) applied to the Dasyus,[1] in the prayer to herbs (oshadhīs) to give taste (svadaya), and in the different operations, analytically treated, involved in cooking the *puroḍāśa*.[2] The medicinal aspect of herbs comes in for specific treatment in the *Atharva-Veda*. The religious phase is covered in the prohibition of raw meat and in the ceremonial cleaning of the altar and the fire before cooking commences. Not only the culinary art but even the art of thieving is treated after scientific method, and we have at least eight clear classes of thieves differentiated and described.[3]

XVIII

METHODS IN LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

On questions of textual criticism and interpretation there was room for difference of opinion, and the best method of instruction was to habituate the student to the various points of view. These were impressed upon him in the discussions of scholars, which he attended. Such discussions were common in the Vedic age, and were often arranged for by princes. There were also popular festive gatherings[4] at which discourses were held and poets won their laurels. The opinions of the sages at these gatherings gained currency in the literary world an' were transmitted to posterity. We have

[1] *R.-V.*, [2] *Tait. Sam.*, I, I. [3] *Tait. Sam.*, IV, 5, 3.
[4] *Vidatha* in *R.-V.*, II, 16, 10; *Samanā* in *R.-V.*, II, 16, 17.

such in the different well-considered views about the Seven Suns (Ādityas) and about austerity (tapas).

In metaphysics and philosophy the Indian method was the usual one of supplying parables, allegories and anecdotes, of which we have numerous instances in the Brāhmaṇas. Even in the Samhitā there are a few, like the allegory of Māmateya as blind, and of the year as a sacrificial horse.[1] The five sheaths in the body are birds in the Upanishads. Symbolism of this kind was characteristically Indian, and was elaborated in later times. The 'five' in the macrocosm were understood by the 'five' in the microcosm.

XIX

SELF-EDUCATION

Lastly, self-education was regarded as the proper method of attaining the highest knowledge. The best instance of this is in the *Taittirīya Upanishad*.[2] Bhṛgu, son of Varuṇa, approaches his father and accosts him thus : 'Sire, teach me what is *Brahman*, is it food or vital airs, the eye or the ear, the wind or the spoken word—which of these is *Brahman* ?' And Varuṇa makes reply : 'That from which all these things have their being, by which all created things live and move, and into which they finally resolve themselves, know that as *Brahman*. Find that out by meditation.' Off goes the son of Varuṇa plunged in thought. It strikes him that food is

[1] *Tait. Sam.*, I, I, 14 ; VII, last stanza.

[2] *Tait. Up.*, III.

Brahman; for do not human beings spring up from food which becomes blood and the vital juice? Verily all beings live on food, and when the body is resolved into ashes these sustain plants and herbs and become transformed into food again. Making sure of his answer, he goes again to his father, who puts him off with the old caution: 'Find out *Brahman* by meditation.' The boy improves with each fresh effort and regards as *Brahman* the vital airs, the breath of our nostrils; and later the mind, anticipating Berkeley's philosophy of '*Cogito: ergo sum.*' Each time he goes to his father to announce his discovery and obtain his approbation, the self-same reply is given: 'Find out.' Finally does he realize that Ānanda is *Brahman*—the joy or happiness in life, that ultimately sustains all creation though it lapse now and then into a mood of pessimism and melancholy. That was the *vidyā* Bhṛgu learnt and inculcated for the benefit of humanity. He no more goes to his father for the approval of results. By laborious self-examination and self-education he attains to the point of self-satisfaction. It is clear, therefore, that the old Vedic teacher was at least in the Vedāntic period no victim of a Faculty Psychology. He did not regard the pupil's brain as a *tabula rasa* in which facts were stored or ideas instilled. He had come to look on the advanced brain as a veritable dynamo which needed guidance for the exercise of its natural reactions, and improved with every such exercise. Self-education was regarded as the best and highest kind of education.

XX

CONCLUSION OF DISCIPLESHIP (*Samāvartana*) DUTIES OF A *Snātaka*

The studentship over, the pupil parted with the teacher and entered life. This was signalized by a great ceremonial bath at samāvartana, which put an end to the vows he had taken as a *Brahmachārin*. He also gave the teacher a substantial present at parting. The teacher had already inculcated virtues like charity and benevolence which are enjoined in several of the hymns.[1] The concluding hymn of the *Ṛg-Veda Samhitā* looks like an adjuration to a gathering of students on their final leave-taking. 'Meet together, talk together, may your minds comprehend alike; common be your action and achievement, common be your thoughts and intentions, common the wishes of your hearts, so there may be thorough union among you.' This hymn appears in all the Vedas, and was apparently one of our ancient convocation addresses.[2]

In the *Taittirīya Upanishad* we have the parting advice to the student who had been the recipient

[1] *R.-V.*, x, 117, 1 and 6. *Kevalāgho bhavati Kevalādī*

[2] *R.-V.*, x, 191, 2, 4.

Samgachhadhvam samvadadhvam |
Sam vo manāmsi jānatām ||
Samāno mantrah, samitissamānī |
Samānam manah sahachittameshām ||
Samānam mantram abhimantraye vah |
Samānī vah ākūtih samānā hṛdayāni vah |
Samānamastu vo manah yadhāvassusahāsati. ||

(*Cp. A.-V.*, vi, 6, 4).

of the supremest and the most abstruse knowledge: 'Speak the truth; live in the way of *Dharma;* neglect not to study and think over the sacred texts. Get thy teacher a present agreeable to him, go forth and lead the life of a house-holder. Do not allow thy family to become extinct. Depart not from the truth, deviate not from the path of duty, the path of welfare, the way to glory and prosperity. Stray not from the right path through negligence or love of leisure. Do thy duty to thy mother, thy father and thy teacher. Be hospitable to guests. Conduct thyself as is meet towards elderly and learned personages. Copy our example only in acts wherein we are free from blame, and not in those liable to be called in question. Give bounteously with all thy heart, fearing that thou art not giving enough, and feeling that what is given is little. Let not a feeling of jealousy enter thy mind. If a doubt cross thy mind, a question how to be or what to do, even act as good and great men, free from the deadening love of self and thirsting for the right, are seen to be or to do, in the locality wherein thou livest.'

The duties enjoined on the Snātaka (discharged student) in the *Atharva-Veda* draw attention to the need for taking special care of the teeth and the eyes, for getting rid of every kind of unnecessary heat and turmoil, for keeping a sound mind in a safe body, and for cultivating a worshipful mood of mind. He was to do his best to spread the Vedic religion, to mould his conduct after the Vedic ideals, and to acquire glory, the goodwill of his fellows and respect at the hands of all.

XXI

EDUCATIONAL AIMS AND IDEALS

The curricula of studies were framed in accordance with the general aim of Aryan culture and the educational ends which the society had in view. Knowledge was not regarded as the aim or the end of education, but as the means of attaining the right attitude in life. In one of the Upanishads we are told that the Right and the Real are concealed under the glamour and glitter of knowledge, as the real form of the Sun is obscured from our view by the halo of light surrounding that luminary.[1] We are told also that the knowledge of the self, of eternal life, is not obtained by learning, by the recitation of texts, or even by listening to the experiences of others, but is entirely a matter of the individual's interiorisation,[2] which finds all things in the universe in their proper place and proportion, and fills the earnest seeker with sweetness and light, born of love for all and renunciation of the self.

In the Vedic period there was some amount of liberty of thought and action. Various passages bear witness to the weakening of the force of tradition and to the breaking of new ground. 'Those who hold ritualism to be their end, enter darkness; in deeper darkness are they who hold knowledge (*vidyā*) to be their goal. The thinking man so acts in this world as to make his body a fit frame for immortality, and uses his knowledge to win

[1] *Satyasyāpihitam mukham . . . apāvṛṇu satyadharmāya drishṭaye.* (*Iśa Up.*),

[2] *Nāyamātmā pravachanēna labhyo na medhayā na bahunā śrutena..* (*Kaṭha Up.*).

immortal life. The *Īśāvāsyopanishad*, where this truth is embodied, draws attention to the fact that knowledge, till then taken for an end, ought strictly to be regarded only as a means to an end. 'Inferior is the knowledge of the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, etc.,' says the *Muṇḍaka Upanishad*, and the higher knowledge is that of the immortal self. That study of mythology and of the hymns and formulæ had lost its hold on the minds of men in the latest Vedic period, stands out clear in the evidence. 'What use is your education if you have not learnt how men are born and where they go after death?' asks a parent of his son, in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*. And the result of the study was 'the infinite is bliss, there is no bliss in anything finite.'

XXII

WHAT KNOWLEDGE IS OF MOST WORTH?

At every step we have the question raised and answered as to what knowledge is of most worth. The decision of the age was clearly in favour of Philosophy and Metaphysics. 'Of what avail is the triple Veda to one who does not know the Universal (*Savitiam*)?' asks the *Taittariya Brāhmana*.[1] 'What is the good of the *Ṛk* to him who has not understood the Support of the whole host of divine beings?' asks a sage as early as the Rig-Vedic age.[2] 'I am inquiring of those things which are hidden even from the gods,' says another.[3]

[1] *Tait. Up.*, III, 10, 11.
[2] *R.-V.*, I, 164, 39.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, 164, 5 and 6.

In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad* Maitreyī prefers knowledge of the immortal self to the wealth offered as her portion by her husband, the sage Yājñavalkya. In the *Kaṭha Upanishad,* Nachiketas meekly declines the infinite riches and regal splendour with which the God of Death tempts him, and is insistent in imploring him to reveal the nature of the Ātman. 'These things last only until the morrow, oh Death! for they wear out all the senses. The pleasures arising from beauty and love are as nothing to the freedom enjoyed from decay and death by the immortals.' And Death makes answer: 'There is the parting of the ways. The good (śreyas) is one thing, the pleasant (preyas) is the other. It is well with him who clings to the path that leads to the good. He who chooses the path of pleasure misses the goal. The fool chooses the pleasant, through greed and avarice.'[1]

XXIII

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SERVICE

The highest metaphysical doctrines were combined with ethical precepts. The aim of Vedic education was to prepare the young and the old alike for social service as conceived in that age. Every one was taught the rights and duties holding all together (*Dharma*), and even an advanced soul had no right to give up the duties pertaining to its position until it had shuffled off the mortal coil. We have the

[1] *Çh. Up.*, I, I; *Kaṭh. Up.*, I, I; I, 2.

explicit mention of the value of philosophy as sustaining man in unremitting social service. 'Infinity is bliss, and only one who obtains bliss performs social duties.'[1] 'None would strive to work or even to live, if only this bliss in the human heart (ānanda) ever ceased to be. Then joy would cease, and the thought of its ceasing smites humanity with horror.'[2]

Thus the Vedic ideal was the harmony of work and worship attained through perfect obedience to the divine will. Education aimed at developing the powers and gifts of the people along these lines. It prepared them for a life whose activities were vast and varied, but cognate and correlated. The idea of the pleasures and privileges to be enjoyed was not allowed to enter into the training for the larger life, the highest life, the best aspects of life. Love, reverence and renunciation transmuted into gold even the baser elements in human character and impulses. Education took advantage of the natural reactions of the child, and developed his individuality, only to lose it finally in the larger life of the universe. The people's love of recited poetry and the spoken tale, its talent for music and taste in the fine arts, its powers of idealistic imagination and its quickness of emotional response, were developed and directed to this end.

[1] *Ch. Up.*, VII, 22. Cp. *Ātmā iva Sevah* (*R.-V.*, I. 73, 2) and *Esha hyevānandayti* (*Tait. Up.*).

[2] *Yadā hyeva sha etasmin udaramantaram kurute atha tasya bhayam bhavati.* (*Tait. Up.*).

Upastaranamaham prajāyai paśūnām bhūyāsam |
Vācham . . . Śuśrūsheṇyām manushyebhyah. |

(*T.A.*, IV, I.)

XXIV

EDUCATION IN INDIA AND ABROAD

It is interesting to compare Vedic education with that which obtained among other communities in the ancient world. The State had nothing to do with education in India as it had in ancient Egypt, where the palace-schools—' houses of instruction '—trained the vast army of officials needed for the service of the state. There is not a word in our texts of flogging or other severe measures for enforcing discipline, whereas it was held in Egypt that by ' beating one's back, the instructions went into the ear.' There is an injunction to students for treating venerable wise men with respect in the *Papyrus Prisse*, as in the *Taittirīya Upanishad*, and likewise the injunction to marry and maintain a family. But the Egyptian lad was warned not to look at a woman in a strange house, while the Indian student begged for alms from women-folk in general. The place of rhetoric in the scheme of studies reminds one of the ' eloquent peasant ' in ancient Egypt. As the Pharaoh enjoyed ' the beauty of the honeyed rhetoric which flowed from his lips,'[1] so did Janaka, Ajātaśatru and other Indian princes in the *Parishads*. The high place assigned to the Indian architect[2] in the king's cabinet has its parallel in Egypt, where the prime minister was the chief architect. The Egyptian curricula also resembled the Indian, and included mathematics, astronomy, medicine, metal-

[1] Breasted: *History of Egypt*, p. 204.
[2] *Taksha* and *Rathakāra*.

working, sculpture, painting, and architecture. But the greater part of the pupil's time was taken up with the mastery of business and of legal forms. In India, unlike Egypt, knowledge was pursued for its own sake.[1]

Still more of a contrast is presented by the Vedic system to the Assyrio-Babylonian. Among both peoples the maladies of babies were attributed to superhuman agencies—Ishtar, Arega, Gnea and Sin among the latter; Ṣaṇḍāmarkas, Pūtanā, Jambha, etc., in Vedic texts. But in western Asia wet-nursing was common; not at all in India. The higher classes learnt reading and writing, but mainly for purposes of trade. Even where the claims of culture for its own sake were recognized, as in the case of Ashurbanipāl, prominence was given to the calligraphic art, whereas in Vedic India the art of writing, after it came to exist, was still kept in a subsidiary position, and knowledge was imparted from the mouth to the ear.

The profoundest resemblance to the Vedic ideas is furnished by the literature of the Hebrews. Education among the Semites was the business of the family, and schools were unknown in early times. Rites and festivals, as in Vedic India, were used as vehicles of religious and moral instruction, and the parents were the natural teachers.[2] National traditions were handed down to children, who were taught the three R's, history and song. It is interest-

[1] Among the ruins of Luxor was found a passage given to a Theban school-boy for exercise in calligraphy in the second millennium B.C. "Pass not a day in idleness, or thou wilt be beaten. . . . The ear of a boy is in his back; he listens when he is beaten." Blackman: *Luxor and its Temples*, p. 176.

[2] *Exodus*, XII, 26, 27.

ing to notice that among the Jews, as among the Indians, a worldly culture did not arise in spite of their material greatness and wide intercourse with the world. Among the educational ideals expounded in the Book of Proverbs is the stress on the formation of habit,[1] on the value of reproof as guidance, and on the importance of the rod of correction.[2] This stands in contrast to the Indian method of leaving the pupil to form his own habits, the teacher relying on the influence of his own example instead of trusting to the efficacy of punishment. The description of the virtuous woman[3] eminently suits Indian conditions, while the 'schools of the prophets' attributed to Samuel remind one of the Charaṇas, Vyūhas, and Parishads—all alike associations of kindred spirits. But the Israelite 'house of instruction' (*beth-hamidrash*) made for formal and religious culture, and trained the Jews to a punctilious legal formalism conducive to exclusiveness, dogmatism and fanaticism.

One is reminded, too, of the Chinese Han-Lin, which was composed of masters of learning, chiefly in literature, art and philosophy. Chinese education, like the Indian, pervaded the various acts of daily life:

> 'Whether walking, standing, sitting, or reclining have a rule,
> 'Even in eating and in drinking have a care,
> 'Yourself to school.'

[1] *Psalms*, 44, 78. [2] "Train up the child," in XXII, 6.
[3] *Proverbs*, X, 17; XII, 1. Cf. XXXI.

CHAPTER III

(Epic and Sūtra Periods)

POST-VEDIC SYSTEM BUILDING

CHAPTER III

(EPIC AND SŪTRA PERIODS)

POST-VEDIC SYSTEM BUILDING

I

TREATMENT OF BABYHOOD (*Saṃskāras*)

THE Sūtras emphasize the principle of the physical welfare of the child in the early years. By ceremonials, hymns and festivals, attention is emphatically drawn to certain events in the child's career. The mother is placed under pollution for a month and a half after confinement, to ensure her concentrating her attention on the infant. Breast-feeding yields the lowest infant-mortality, as is now proved by statistics. Breast-feeding was the universal rule in ancient India. The ceremony of *Jātakarma* at once elevates maternity and ensures care of the infant, who must come out now into the fresh air and sunshine. The superstition of the evil eye was the safeguard against the tendency to show off the babe to the guests, which means a call on him for constant change of attention and the forcing on him of violent self-stimulation. At the *nishkramaṇa* the child was taken into the open, to admire the gay flowers and the green leaves on the background of the sunlit sky. It breathed the pollen driven by the wanton wind, witnessed the bright plumage of the

dancing peacock, and was treated to the music of the gurgling brook, and the sweet song of the kokila. After the celebration of the first birthday it was given its food in the placid moonlight, and taught to trace the course of the Moon and the stars as they appear on the heavens unwearied night after night. Its individuality was respected and its emotions aroused at every ceremonial. 'The parents of little Goyame performed in due order the rites of the birthday—the sight of the Sun and the Moon, the Vigil, the name-giving, the walking and the moving of the legs, the feasting, the increase of food, the teaching to speak, the boring of the ears, the cleansing of the year, the dressing of the hair, the taking to school, etc.'[1] The ceremony of tonsure (*chauḷa*) was at the age of three or five, when the consciousness of self appears and asserts itself. The child was then put to school, and advantage was taken of his growing egoism for establishing regularity in daily life. He was to rise early, and wash especially his teeth

[1] *Antagada Dasao*, Barnett's Tr., p. 29. *Mantra Pāṭha* of the Āpastambins, 13, 2. Aśoka's Rock edict, IX.

In *Divyāvadāna*, 91, we have the work of nurses (*krīḍāpaṇikā*) who take care of the manifold plays and toys of children.

Pregnant women must not bathe in bathing-places, allow hair to be loose, or lie with head high or low, and must not walk in the open air. They must avoid the cemetery, burial ground, large trees, etc. (*Suśruta*, III, 10). Cf. *Petavattu*, I, 5; *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 2, 79, 167, 441, and 523.

Cf. *Megasthenes*: 'The Brachmanes are the best esteemed, for they are more consistent in their opinions. From the time of their conception in the womb they are under the guardian care of learned men, who go to the mother and, under the pretence of using some incantations for the welfare of herself and her unborn babe, in reality give her prudent hints and counsels. The women who listen most willingly are thought to be most fortunate in their children. After the birth, the children are under the care of one person after another, and as they advance in age, each succeeding master is more accomplished than his predecessor.'

(*Fragment* 41).

and eyes, to have regular meal-times, and retire to bed an hour or two after sun-set. He was frequently treated to stories, and there was a plentiful and easy choice for the parent out of the rich treasure-house of the Epics and the Purāṇas. This attention to the child in the first four or five years must be of high educative value. Jung and Freud have proved by psycho-analysis that the habits formed in these years have great influence in determining not only the physical status of the child but the future emotional and volitional life of the adult.

II

FACTORS OF HOME EDUCATION

The home education of the child in these early years may now be described in detail. Comenius calls the first years the mother's school, and finds here the rudiments of all later education. And this was true of the Indian mother who trained the child's emotions and imbued him with a religious spirit. The share of the Indian mother in education is well brought out by the epithet *Vīrasū*—'the mother of heroes'—of a Kshatriya lady, and by invoking the name of the mother when trying to appeal to a sense of heroism. We have good examples in the epithets Āñjaneya, for Hanumān; Kuntīmāta, applied to Bhīma; and Kaunteya, of Arjuna. The poorest mother never delayed to strap the cradle to her back while intensely busy with her household duties. She never allowed any social duty or pleasure, however addicted she was to details of ceremonial, to

interfere with her duty to her child.[1] The child was taught that he was a brother to the animals, Nature's innocent dumb creation, to the guileless calf of the milch-cow and even to the noisy Indian crow. He was told tales which impressed on him that animals and even plants have life and feeling. The high rocks and giant trees were to him embodiments of a mysterious power which he was taught to reverence. Nature's phenomena, like thunder and lightning, were explained as the results of the working of this unseen Being, as much as the soft stillness of the night and the motions of the spheres. He was led from Nature to Nature's God. This was the foundation of his spiritual training.

The family, under the guidance of the father, was the next factor in the child's education. Pestalozzi[2] held that life educates more than the school and that the centre of elementary education is the sympathy of ideas, the speech and the intelligent activities of a well-organized family-life. The Hindu joint-family furnished the child with his first lessons in the art of co-operation. It was the schooling ground of the social virtues—of sympathy with distress, of unselfish affection, of gratitude for service, of regard for elders, of social service without a sense of patronage, of self-sacrifice in the interest of the other members of the community. In family life alone, in other

[1] Aśoka refers especially to the multifarious ceremonials of the women and their attention to details.

[2] Cf., Haradatta on *Gautama Smriti*, II, I. Parents had to undergo vicarious punishment for the sins of children, for which they were held responsible.

words, is there complete provision for what Froebel[1] calls ‘ the fundamental need of childhood ’—self-expression.

The Indian home was not a preparation for the school, but a supplement to it. The father, sitting under the bounteous mango or the shady banyan, and the grandmother at her leisure, kindled not only the child's love of Nature but his interest in literature, by telling him stories and reading aloud to him extracts from the golden deeds of the Epic heroes and heroines. The child's personality was evoked and developed and his work assessed and appreciated in his treatment of nursery rhymes as well as in the reproduction of these stories. In a large family of brothers and cousins, in an economic atmosphere where men desired to have only to give away, the idea of giving was foremost in the mind of every juvenile Nachiketas, and the incipient spirit of commercialism was clean wiped out of his mind. Trained to give, and to share what he had with others, one could not expect him to enter the lists in the fierce competition and selfish struggle for existence. Thus Indian family training, unlike that among primitive peoples, did not aim at enabling the child to be useful to the family at the earliest possible moment by training him in some practical art, but aimed at the harmonious development of his own powers. The educational system was inclusive, embracing social customs and etiquette, legends, arts, morals and religion.

[1] *The Education of Man*, p. 102.

III

HOME EDUCATION OF GIRLS

The home education of girls was efficient enough in this period. The Buddha is depicted in the *Lalitavistara*[1] as resolved early in life to marry a well-brought-up girl: 'I shall need the maiden who is accomplished in writing and in composing poetry, who is endowed with good qualities and is well versed in the rules of the *Sūtras*.' This passage may be giving us a picture of a high-class bride in the period before Christ. Another passage may be cited from the same work to show that the education of girls of the highest class not only enabled them to discharge their domestic duties, and to take interest in the concerns of life, but dowered them with an attitude of openness to the reception of new ideas. The wife of the Buddha was bold enough to put the question: 'So long as my behaviour, my qualities, my prudence, remain undisturbed, why need I a veil to cover my face with?'[2] It must be conceded, therefore, that the girl of this period was no domestic drudge, but that she had her individuality and free opinions within limits. The character of Sītā in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is quite in keeping with the ideal. She could talk fluently in Sanskrit. Draupadī, in the *Mahābhārata*, had brilliant conversational powers, and her charm struck everyone. Women could

[1] Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's Ed., pp. 182, 199. In the *Svapnavāsavadattā*, Vāsavadattā is driven to weave the garland for the new queen's marriage she being well versed in this art (III, 25). Weaving is a domestic occupation for women in the *Jātaka*, e.g., *Jāt.*, VI, 26.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 199.

manage their husbands' property when they were away on business.[1] In one verse we are told that womenkind were mightier than Brāhmans and priests.[2] But these are, perhaps, ideals conceived by poets fond of exaggeration and imagery.

IV

WOMEN TEACHERS

It is possible, however, to point out actual cases of women who have played a memorable part in the early history of Buddhism.[3] Among the Therīs, we are introduced to Dhammadinnā, a woman of spirit who, like the Vedic Maitreyī, rejects her husband's offer of treasure, even surpasses him in her knowledge of Buddhist doctrines and helps him in the solution of knotty problems. Then we have Sonā, who is 'strenuous in effort' (*Āraddha-viriyā*), and Kisa Gautamī, 'the wearer of the rough garments' (*lukha-chīvara-dhāraṇam*)—all alike, women whose secret was not pleasure, but peace; who were radiant with a divine ardour; in whose heart there was no weakness and on whose brow weariness was ashamed to sit. Among those in high rank, who embraced the monastic life, not as a relief from poverty and suffering, but as the crown of self-sacrifice and selfless service, we have the Therī Somā, daughter of Bimbisāra's friend and chaplain. She

[1] *Ibid.*, III, 4 3. [2] *Jātaka*, IV, 439.

[3] As is clear from the *Therīgāthā*. *Vide Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists* I, Articles 15 and 16. There is mention of two women-hermits near Kurukshetra, who had become *Tapassiddhās*, in the *Mahābhārata* (IX, 54).

spurns the taunts of Māra, the tempter who threatens her that ‘ woman cannot with her feeble wit achieve the distant heights.’ Khemā, wife of Bimbisāra, left her affectionate husband and tore herself from a life of luxury to join the Buddhist Order. So did Anupamā, ‘ the peerless,’ the daughter of a wealthy merchant in Rājagriha. These were not instances of isolated escapes from family and society. We have early Buddhist tradition to the effect that in nearly every instance the mother or the daughter joining the Order was able to obtain the permission of her family. Khemā became an *Arhat* with her husband's consent, and so did Sujātā, wife of a rich merchant. There were similar conversions to Jainism, of ladies of talent who were steeped in the culture of their time. Nandā, wife of Bimbisāra, and twelve other queens of his, were beatified, according to the *Antagada Dasao.*[1] We are told by Kauṭilya that family women who were unable to earn their living were helped by the State with employment at domestic occupations. ‘ Those women who do not stir out of their houses (*anishkāsinyah*), those whose husbands have gone abroad, and those who are cripples and young girls may, when obliged to work for subsistence, be provided with work—the spinning of yarn—through the medium of maid servants (of the weaving establishment).’[2]

Women teachers became common in this period, (Upādhyāyī and Upādhyāyā) ; and there were women or girl-students, Kaṭhī and Bahvṛchī being known by the different śākhās. It would appear

[1] Chap. VII, Barnett's Tr., p. 47.
[2] *Arthaśāstra* (2nd Ed.), p. 114.

that even military training was not barred to women, as may be inferred from the mention by Patañjali of *Śāktikī*, which means a female spear-bearer,[1] and from the story in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kaikeyī saving her husband, the emperor Daśaratha, by fighting against his enemies.

V

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION: THE PUPIL AT SCHOOL

Home education ceased at the age of five, when the pupil resorted to a teacher. The weaning of the child from fond domestic influences was signalized by a great ceremony. Sometime later, at the age of seven or eight, was the initiation into sacred lore and introduction to a spiritual teacher.

Our authorities differ as to the earliest age for the commencement of school-life. Charaka and other writers on Indian medicine place it at five years, while writers on astrology allow it as early as the third year in the case of precocious children. It is interesting to note that medical works[2] insist on the postponement of the school-going age to the fifth year in any case. The Śikshā enumerates the course of study as comprising the art of writing (lipi), prayers and psalms (stuti), meanings of words and their mutual relationships (nighaṇṭu), and elementary grammar, including terminations and tenses, declensions and inflections (śabda). Accord-

[1] *Pāṇini*, IV, I, 48, 63; *Patañjali*, on IV, I, 15.

[2] *Charaka Saṃhitā*, for instance.

ing to Kauṭilya's scheme,[1] the boy learnt the alphabet and arithmetic after the ceremony of tonsure was over. The *Divyāvadāna*[2] has reference to the school-room (lekha-śāla), to sciences taught (ketubham), to stories which regaled the young (parikathā), to pencils used in writing (tulā), and the abacus (janitra) used in teaching arithmetic. The first attendance at school of Gautama Buddha, and his learning to write on a wooden tablet, are found represented in the Gandhāra sculptures.[3] This elementary education was finished by the eighth year, when the boy was initiated into Vedic lore (upanīta) and made the teacher's house his home.

VI

INITIATION

There is substantial agreement among the Gṛhya Sūtras as regards the time of initiation.[4] It was the eighth year after conception in the case of a Brāhman student, the eleventh year of a Kshatriya, and the twelfth of a Vaiśya. The latest year when initiation was permitted as a matter of course was the sixteenth of a Brāhman, twenty-second of a Kshatriya youth, and the twenty-fourth of a Vaiśya. Those who remained uninitiated even later were regarded as outcastes and could regain admission to Vedic study only after expiatory sacrifices. It is reasonable to

[1] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, chap. 5. [2] Cowell & Neill's Ed., p. 532.
[3] *Modern Review* for 1924.
[4] Āśvalāyana, I, 19; Śāṅkhyāyana, II, 1–9; Pāraskara, II, 1, 5; Gobhila, X, 1; Khādira, IV, 1–6; Hiraṇyakeśin, I, 1, 1; Āpastamba, X, 4.

suppose that the age-variations noted above were based on the relative ages of the dawn of sense, the Brāhman boys being the most precocious as a rule. But it should also be mentioned that a mystic significance was attached to number in those days, as has already been shown of the number of syllables in each foot of the verses used in Vedic initiation. Āpastamba adds that a boy initiated in the seventh year shows progress in learning, while one who begins in the eighth year lives long, in the ninth gets vigour, in the eleventh strength; and the tenth and the twelfth make for prosperity. There is consistency in regard to these views, as we are told that the seasons for the performance of the rite of initiation are spring, summer and autumn respectively. It may be remembered that spring in India is the season of peace and plenty, that in summer the tropical sun is at the height of his power and glory, and autumn is the season for harvest.

Initiation meant the beginning of discipline. One of our commentators[1] cites an old text to the effect that up to the time of initiation a child was allowed to follow its own inclinations in the matter of diet, talking, and general behaviour; and that the parents and other relatives of children between the ages of five and eleven were to perform penances vicariously for the misdeeds of the latter. When the boy was between eleven and fifteen he was liable to half the prescribed penance. It is clear that he was considered as attaining discretion at eleven, but as not quite past his nonage in social and moral life till he was fifteen; though for legal and

[1] Haradatta, commenting on Gautama, II, I.

political purposes the age of majority was attained far later. It is interesting that Hindu law should fix the responsibility on the parents for the indiscrete acts of children in their teens, as is now the case in China.

The compilers of sacred laws do not tell us whether boys with an innate propensity for mischief were denied initiation into the sacred lore till they had mended their ways or showed a repentant spirit. The question probably seldom arose when the fond father was also the initiator, but it was, in general, left to the sense of the teacher. "Sacred lore approached a Brāhman and said to him: 'preserve me, I am thy treasure, reveal me not unto a scorner, nor to a wicked man, nor to one of uncontrolled passions; so preserved, I shall become strong. Reveal me as the keeper of thy treasure, to the pure, intelligent, attentive and chaste, who will not offend thee or revile thee.'"[1]

VII

CEREMONIALS (*Upanayana*)

The rites of initiation are described in all the books of sacred laws. The boy is fed at a social feast along with other members of the commu as is given a shave and a bath, and a garment 'w dy has been spun and woven in a single day,' a o Āpastamba,[2] showing that at any rate in South India, spinning was a domestic occupation even among Brāhmans in that age. It was an impressive cere-

[1] Quoted in *Vasishṭha*, II, 8, 9. [2] *Āpastamba*, X, 10.

monial accompanied with music and rejoicing—this first attempt to lisp the sacred texts. He was given a sacred girdle, and placed in custody of the deities. This was symbolical of his consecration to service, and to a life of righteousness, and of his protection from 'evil word.' The girdle was to be of sacred grass for a Brāhman, a bow-string for a Kshatriya, a woollen thread for a Vaiśya—symbolical of the professions to be followed in each case in after-life. When the boy was placed in charge of the gods, there was a prayer for learning if he was to lead a Brāhman's life, for royalty and valour if a Kshatriya, for wealth and prosperity if he was a Vaiśya.

The student was invested with a staff 'for the sake of a long life of holiness, and of holy lustre.' It symbolized his entering a long sacrificial period. It was to reach the tip of the nose if a Brāhman, the forehead if a Kshatriya, and the crown of the head if a Vaiśya. It may be presumed that the height of the student varied in each case, the Brāhman boys being the tallest. The staff was to be made of bilva or palāśa wood for a Brāhman, symbolical of sacredness and purity; of banyan (nyagrodha) for the Kshatriya, whose widespreading arms giving shade and shelter represented his functions; and in the case of the Vaiśya, of the sacred fig (udumbara), reminding one of strength and increase, or, according to other authorities, the village fig tree (aśvattha) representing the religious life of the folk. The staff was to make him 'glorious.'

The clothing of a Brāhman student was made of linen or hempen cloth, that of a Kshatriya, cotton,

of a Vaiśya, woollen. On the person they wore also the skin of the antelope, spotted deer and goat respectively. The hymns used on these occasions give us a clue to what was considered to be their significance. The goddesses of the new robes were 'to clothe him with long life,' so that he might 'protect the human tribes against imprecation.' The antelope skin 'kept him from forgetting what he had learnt,' apparently a reference to its power of retaining the human force which we now call electricity.

A new name was given to the student at initiation, generally derived from his family deity or ancestor or after some constellation, showing that he was now admitted into a higher life. The duties pertaining to his new life were now impressed on him: 'Put fuel into the fire. Cleanse internally with water. Do service. Do not sleep in the day-time.'[1] He was enjoined to move along the Sun's course, after Him, symbolizing the teaching to follow Nature and her forces as far as possible. He was made to tread on a stone; he was to be 'firm like a stone' and overcome his foes—the temptations within and the slanderers without. The food eaten by him was to make him 'strong, long-lived and covered with splendour.' It was after such cleansing with fire and water, and insisting on his taking food of the right sort, that the Initiator made his body the fit recipient of the highest lore.

The next step was to win the boy to ways of goodness and truth by a sort of hypnotism. The

[1] *Divā mā sushupthāh* (*Mantra pāṭha*, II, 6, 14).

teacher touches the chest of the boy with his fingers upwards, and repeats the words[1]—'Thy heart shall dwell in my heart; my mind thou shalt follow with thy mind; in my word thou shalt rejoice with all thy heart; may Brihaspati join thee to me.' 'To me alone thou shalt adhere. In me thy thoughts shall dwell. Upon me thy veneration shall be bent. When I speak thou shalt be silent.' 'May I be beloved and dear to thee; let us dwell here in breath and life.' After these prayers for concord the teacher bestows on him his blessing: 'The bliss in which the Fire, the Sun, the Moon and the Waters go their way, even in that bliss go thou thy way. Thou hast become the pupil of Breath. May Indra, Sarasvatī and the Aśvins bestow intelligence on thee.' For himself, the teacher prays that he may, through his pupils, 'become rich in holy lustre.' The ceremonial is equally impressive in all the texts; the only point of divergence one may note with interest is that instead of styling him the 'pupil of life' one text has the reading, 'the pupil of Kāma.'[2] It probably indicates that the sensuous raptures and forbidden tastes attributed to Kāma in later times were non-existent in this period. We have a prayer to Kāma by one who, in the weakness of the flesh, was unable to fulfil the vow of continence. 'The body was purified by water, internal organs by truth, the soul by sacred learning and austerities, and the understanding by knowledge.'

It was in such an atmosphere of rigorous self-

[1] This hypnotism induced into the boy stronger personality.

[2] *Śānkhyāyana*, IV, 4, 2.

discipline and sacred vow, that the student wedded to a life of poverty, continence, service and humility, got his first insight into the nature of the Supreme, the Creator and First Cause, whom he looked up to for guiding him unto his destiny. This hymn to Savitṛ was allowed to be repeated at once by all the three castes, though the usual variation of metres is mentioned, and an apprenticeship is indicated, ranging from twelve months to three days. The *Gāyatrī* metre was associated with clarity of spiritual vision, the *Trishṭubh* with power and strength, and the *Jagatī* with economic prosperity.

This ceremony of initiation was known as *Upanayana*. It goes back to early Vedic times, though it is found described for the first time in the Brāhmaṇa literature. A close parallel to this rite is found in the *Avesta*. It is apparently the transformation of an ancient rite, by which a boy was received into the community of culture as soon as he attained years of understanding. Only, among the Aryas the age was fixed earlier than among the other communities which waited for puberty, on the principle that as the twig is bent the tree is inclined. The Zoroastrian system affords a good parallel. Boys were invested with the shirt and *kasti* between the ages of seven and fifteen. The *kasti* was made of lamb's wool spun into a fine thread, and the object of wearing it was the same as in India. In both cases, too, we have the forms of preventive magic, like continence, watching the night in silence, holding the breath, and tying amulets. The main point of difference is that the relation of teacher to pupil thus created was lasting in India, whereas the Avestic relationship

was for three years, and terminable even after eighteen months.

VIII

DISCIPLINARY RULES

The rite of initiation was intended to be merely the beginning of a course of study and discipline lasting for years or for life. Among the standing duties of a student were frequent bathing—three times a day—to relieve nervous tension in a tropical country, begging for alms in accordance with his vow, offering sacred fuel to the Fire, and speaking the truth. He was to avoid garrulity and calumny, sleep in the day, gambling, forbidden food and drink. There was no restriction as to the quantity of food he could take, as there was in the case of elderly people, but he was expected to keep his 'tongue, arms and stomach in subjection.'[1]

All these rules of conduct were to ensure his leading a life of continence and daily study. He was not to look at dancing or go to places where men assemble for gambling or for gossip, and he was to avoid crowds and festivals. He was not to 'gaze at or touch women where there was a danger of a breach of chastity.' 'The penance for breaking the vow of continence was the sacrifice of an ass on the cross-road to Nirṛti.' The guilty man was then to put on the skin of an ass, with the tail turned upwards, and go about for alms for a whole year, proclaiming his deed.[2]

[1] *Gautama*, II, 22. Cp. Buddhist rules in the *Pātimokkha*

[2] *Pāraskara*, III, 12.

There were definite rules of ceremonial as regards the daily study of the sacred texts. The student was to rise with the lark or even earlier, bathe and cleanse himself with water, and repeat his lessons. He was warned not to be fastidious about bodily purity and comforts, lest it should lead to the awakening of the tender passion in the age of adolescence. He was not to sit with his teacher in the same seat and never on a higher seat, with his arms under his knees or his feet outstretched, or in any such irreverent attitude.[1]

Breaches of discipline were punished with threats, baths in cold water, starvation for a period, temporary suspension of discipleship, or imposition of the vow of silence for a time.

IX

DURATION OF STUDENTSHIP (*Brahmacharya*)

The annual term began on the Full-Moon day of Śrāvaṇa for some, and on the fifth day of that month under the constellation Hasta for others. We are told[2] that it was then that the herbs appeared amid the glad grass, and all Nature smiled with the pulsation of a fresh life. We have seen already that this was the commencement of the Vedic year, when the frogs broke into a croaking harmony and when the Vedic students returned

[1] *Śānkhyāyana*, IV, 8, 5–11.
[2] *Ibid.*, IV, 5, 2.

to their chant. This they termed *Upākarma* or *Vārshika*.[1]

The total duration of studentship was twelve years for each Veda, at least one year for each division thereof, and 24, 36, or 48 years in all.[2] We thus note the enormous attention paid to Vedic study in the Sūtra period. Even after the regular term was over and the studentship had terminated, there was no reluctance to continue the study under the teacher. Śvetaketu declares that a further residence of two months every year was advisable, for by this means he had learnt more than during the period of his formal studentship.[3]

X

VACATION AND HOLIDAYS (*Anadhyayana*)

During the academic term there were numerous holidays and interruptions of study—at the commencement and at the close a stoppage for three nights, and for a day and a night at the *ashṭakas* and at the close of each season; a break of 24 hours on the first, eighth, fourteenth and fifteenth day of every fortnight; when the sky was overcast or it thundered, 36 hours; when the person of the student was impure, or when some death or disease was prevalent in the locality. It is interesting to

[1] The duration of the term varied in the case of different schools and according to circumstances. It was 6½ months or 5½ (*Śāṅkhyāyana*, IV, 6, 7), 6 months (*Āśvalāyana*, III, 5, 14), 5 or 4½ (*Gautama*, XVI, 1; *Vasishṭha*, X, 11, 5). The term closed on the Full-Moon day of Tishya, or on the Rohiṇi constellation of that month.

[2] *Baudhāyana*, I, 2, 3. The twice-born who practises Brahmacharya for 36 years is called an *Upakurvāṇa*. (*Vyāsa*, I, 41).

[3] *Āpastamba*, I, 4, 13, 19.

follow the reason assigned for these breaks. Manu says that study in the prohibited lunar days was detrimental to the health of the teacher or of the student, and did not conduce to the growth of learning. The first day of the fortnight was considered the most objectionable, and we have reference to this in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[1] where Sītā is described as emaciated 'even as the learning of one who habitually studies on the first day of the fortnight.' Aśoka, in his Pillar Inscription V, attaches special importance to these days, on which he forbids the castration of bulls and the killing of fish and other creatures. We are to seek for an explanation probably in the ritualistic importance of these days, and it was based on the phases of the Moon, as was natural among a people following the luni-solar calendar. Other prohibitions are less difficult to understand. 'He shall not study when the food is sour, undigested; in the twilight; at night when the doors are open; or in the day-time when the doors are closed.' Nor was he to do it when his ears were attracted by music, or his mind had unhealthy or unpleasant associations. The fundamental condition of inspiring thought is peace within oneself and harmony with Nature's forces.

XI

COMPLETION OF STUDENTSHIP

The completion of formal studentship was signalized by ceremonies. The student sacrificed in the water

[1] *Rāmāyaṇa*: Sundarakāṇḍa, *Pratipatpāṭhaśīlasya vidyeva tanutām gatā.* (LIX. 36).

his girdle, staff and sacred thread, which he had been using all these years. He parted with the teacher after making him a suitable present. Lest his specialized knowledge and erudition should fill him with spiritual pride, we have this provision in Āpastamba[1]: 'The knowledge which Śūdras and women possess is the completion of all study. They declare it a supplement to the *Atharva-Veda*.' This was clearly intended to show that the man of culture was not to be unfit to move in the world, or be in splendid literary isolation.

The principles of study and discipline which were inculcated at the initiation were observed throughout life. There was a special ceremony known as the *Godāna* in the sixteenth year, which was apparently considered as marking the dawn of adolescence; and new provisions are added now, forbidding luxurious baths, meticulous cleansing of the limbs, combing the head, using perfumes and ointments, sleeping on high beds, singing, dancing and self-abuse (*svayamindriyamochanam*).[2] The student was to avoid the razor, and remain unshaved the whole year.

XII

CRITERIA OF CONDUCT

After the close of studentship Vedic study was to be practised as usual until the man gave up the world. During the Vedic season for study he was to practise the vow of continence at home. He was to get up

[1] *Āpastamba*, II, 11, 29. [2] *Gobhila*, III, 1, 26.

three hours before daybreak and recite the Veda.[1] The *Snātaka* was not allowed to go to assemblies, or mention anything evil of anybody; to bathe in the night, or to be naked at bath or in bed. He might sing at his pleasure, but not dance or play on musical instruments, or attend music parties. Gautama adds that his eyes also must be under restraint. As if he feared that one might not see the woods of religion in the multitude of these ceremonial trees of detail, Pāraskara[2] lays down that speaking the truth alone sufficed, instead of all these other observances.

As there were numerous schools of thought in this period, the question of how to act in a dilemma received fresh attention. The Vedic injunction to act as the doctors did was insufficient in a society where the doctors differed among themselves. All were agreed that the conduct of the Śishṭas was of binding force in the community; the question was who were to be regarded as such. Vasishṭha lays down that they were those who had studied the Vedic and connected scriptures, and 'who were able to deduce proofs perceptible by the senses from the revealed texts.' 'That is virtue which the twice-born approve—elderly men of subdued senses, neither avaricious nor hypocritical.' 'Vedas do not purify him who is deficient in good conduct.' Baudhāyana attaches much more importance to conduct: 'Śishṭas are those who are free from envy, pride, covetousness, hypocrisy, arrogance, greed, vacillation and anger, and who are contented with

[1] *Vasishṭha*, XII, 46. [2] *Pāraskara*, II, 8, 8.

a store of grain lasting for ten days.' Gautama's position is apparently a compromise: 'One is versed in the Vedas if he knows the ways of the world, besides the Vedic texts, is skilled in disputations and in reciting legends and the Purāṇa, and lives in accordance with their precepts.'

Āpastamba makes the capacity to take a disinterested view the acid test of the fitness for leadership in religious matters. The question was whether study of the Veda was forbidden when there was thunder and lightning. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* permitted it; but the practice of his time was against the study. Āpastamba accepts the practice on the ground that 'no worldly motive was perceptible for the decision of those Aryas who counselled the interruption. 'Such a practice is founded on some lost text inferable from usage.' But he sounds a note of warning: 'Where a *Smriti* or practice conduces to worldly pleasure, such inference would be unwarranted.'[1]

XIII

THE TEACHER

It was generally recognized that the welfare of the student depended on the selection of the Guru or preceptor who was to stand *in loco parentis* to him beyond this stage. Various considerations determined the choice of the Guru. First came the question of competency. Regard was had not only to his powers and erudition but to his conduct and the mode of life led by him. Heredity was a

[1] *Āpastamba*, I, 4, 12; 10; 11.

recognized criterion. For the teaching of spiritual knowledge, the mystic lore of the Veda and the Vedānta, resort was made to a Śrotriya, i.e. a teacher whose ancestors had been Vedic students for at least three generations, who was a specialist intent on meditation as well as study.[1] In the Buddhist texts it appears that only a Bhikkhu who had ten years' experience of the world after his own student life, was entitled to take a student for training.[2] The teacher's second qualification was skill in exposition. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[3] for instance, Nārada is spoken of as well versed in letters. But this qualification was not regarded as essential in spiritual training, where the teacher taught more by example and inspiration than by words. A word was enough for the earnest student intent on the acquisition of knowledge. Even this word was sometimes replaced by a nod or a *mudrā*, i.e. a sign symbolical of some spiritual truth: so much magnetism was supposed to be exercised by the teacher's personality. Thirdly, there were two qualities common to Gurus of a high order, sympathy and large-heartedness. The teacher was to treat his pupil like a son[4] and not to conceal from a resident pupil even the recondite recesses of knowledge.

XIV

CLASSES OF TEACHERS

Various classes of teachers are mentioned and differentiated. The Āchārya was the spiritual

[1] *Cf. Rāmāyaṇa*, I, I, I. [2] *Mahāvagga*, I, 32, I. [3] *Vāgvidām varak.*

[4] *Cf. Mahāvagga*, I, 25, for similar relationship of the *Upajjhāya* and the *Saddhivihārika.*

teacher of the highest grade, who took no fee and did the teaching for its own sake. The Guru was a teacher of a somewhat lower order in erudition who also imparted knowledge gratis, but paid special attention to moral development. The Upādhyāya took fees[1] and imparted instruction only in some particular subject. The Śikshaka gave instruction in arts like dancing. Among the teachers that had given up the world were the Buddhist Bhikkhus, Jaina Nirgranthas, and the Ājīvikas, who are styled Parivrājakas by Kauṭilya and Aśoka and Śramaṇas by Megasthenes. Comparing the classification of teachers in this period with that in the Vedic age, one will notice simplicity and conformity to certain common types, in place of the Vedic variety and multiplicity.

The age of rationalism is reflected in Pāṇini's classification of teachers as *Āstika*, *Nāstika* and *Daiśika*, referring to those who believed in life after death, those who did not, and those who were discussing the question in a vein of scepticism. There are also references to Brahmavādins and Parivrājakas. The former were, as usual, expounders of the sacred texts, but the latter were followers of the *nivṛtti mārga* or renunciation of works, and held that pursuit of peace was the highest objective in existence. Bhikkhus who had renounced the world also acted as teachers. Some of these were

[1] *Cf.* the lower grade teacher in the *Talmud*. The opinion of the time was against those teachers who took fees, ' who made learning their stock in trade.' (*Jñāna-paṇyam vaṇijam vadanti* in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*). People of a city ' used to give day by day commons of food to poor lads and had them taught free.' (*Jāt.*, I, 239).

near populous tracts (naikaṭikas), while others lived in forests far from human haunts.[1]

XV

THE STUDENT

Students fell into four classes, in accordance with the motives by which they were actuated in seeking a particular teacher.[2] The world-weary and forlorn (ārta) wanted health and vigour ; those who had a thirst for knowledge and a consuming curiosity (jijñāsu) sought enlightenment ; those that had a worldly end (arthārthī) came in pursuit of means to secure that end ; and the men of vision (jñānī) sought the highest spiritual end. The four classes stood apparently in an ascending order of importance in the *Gītā*, and the man of vision who sought the highest end was considered the noblest. The first condition of success in the student was the cultivation of a mental attitude (vishāda), by reflecting on the condition of things which were unsatisfactory as apparent to one's consciousness, and thus evolving

[1] *Pāṇini*, IV, 4, 60 ; *cf.* also V, 2, 92 ; VI, 1, 4, 9 ; III, 2, 78 ; VI, 1, 154 ; IV, 4, 73. 'The philosophers have their abode in a grove in front of the city within a moderate-sized enclosure. They live in a simple style, and lie on beds of rushes or deer-skins. They abstain from animal food and sexual pleasures, and spend their time in listening to serious discourses, and imparting their knowledge to such as will listen to them. The hearers are not allowed to speak or even to cough, and much less to spit, and if anyone offends in any of these ways he is cast out from the society that very day as being a man who is wanting in self-restraint. After living in this manner for seven and thirty years, each individual retires to his own property, where he lives for the rest of his days in ease and security. They then array themselves in fine muslins, and wear a few trinkets of gold on their fingers and in their ears' (Megasthenes).

[2] *Ārto jijñāsurarthārthī jñānī cha* in *Bhag. Gītā*. VII, 16.

a mood of questioning and contemplation. This is the scientific spirit,[1] a burning desire to know, a consuming ambition to find out what is good (śreyas). Towards the teacher the aspirant for knowledge was to display an attitude of reverential homage. He was to think over what was taught, and to make sure of the result by a circumspect questioning of the teacher (paripraśna). He was required by custom and tradition to do such service as might be demanded of him.[2] The first mention of service is, I think, found in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*,[3] where Jābāla goes, fuel in hand, to the teacher. The *Praśna Upanishad* asks the pupil to go to the preceptor with sacrificial wood (samit) in his hand as a present. The *Gītā* makes deferential homage, circumspect questioning and manual service, the marks of an earnest student. But the most important thing of all was this very earnestness (śraddhā). The Buddhist Suttas[4] dwell on the spiritual barrenness of pupils who have no *sattha*. The late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar defined it as the attitude of open-mindedness, the disposition to receive what strikes one as reasonable.[5]

XVI

SELECTION OF STUDENTS

Personal attention was bestowed by the Guru on the selection of his disciples, and there are some

[1] *Yat śreyah syān niśchitam brūhi tanme Śishyasteham śādhi mām tvām prapannam. Bhag. Gītā*, II, 7.

[2] *Tadviddhi praṇipātena paripraśnena sevayā* in *Bhag. Gītā*, IV, 34. *Cp.*, *Mahāvagga* I, 26

[3] *Ch. Up.*, IV, 4. [4] *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XI, p. 223 f.

[5] Presidential Address to the First Oriental Conference; Poona, 1919.

general rules on this point in the Smṛti texts. Manu lays down that there were ten classes of pupils to be accepted by any teacher—the son of one's teacher, one who did personal service, one who taught some other subject, a good man, a man pure in mind and heart, a reliable friend, one capable of comprehending and applying the knowledge acquired, a patron and a recluse.[1] The Indian teacher was not a believer in making higher education open to all; he imparted to each student only that grade of education for which he was fitted by character and capacity, by heredity and environment. To those times may be applied the observations made recently by Lord Hugh Cecil:[2] 'Uniformity is the essence of any and every system, whereas infinite variety and infinite irregularities are the characteristics of people. The only education, therefore, that deserves the name or is really beneficial, is that which ministers to individual capacity and personality. When that connection and response are lacking, teaching and being taught are a funereal waste of time.' To some extent the caste restrictions arose from these considerations, for in ancient India, as in ancient Greece, there was great faith in the transmission of virtues by heredity. Women and Śūdras were not ordinarily admitted to the study of the highest philosophical truths, apparently as they were hampered by their material environments and by the lack of atmosphere at home and in social life. But there were remarkable exceptions to this rule, Śūdras being permitted to be not only students but even

[1] *Manusmriti*, II, 138, 240 and 241.
[2] *Sunday Times*, London, August 7, 1925.

teachers of all classes. Law givers declare that the earnest student might accept knowledge of the right kind even from a low-born person.[1] We have a classical instance in Vidura of the *Mahābhārata*, who was a Śūdra, but whose teaching embodies the highest philosophy. Brāhmanical qualities were appreciated in students as well as in teachers, whatever the caste to which they belonged.

XVII

GENERAL RELATIONS OF TEACHER AND TAUGHT[2]

Works on Grammar give us some insight into the relations of teacher and pupil in this period. The pupils must be deferential and win the teacher's affection. 'They must protect each other; hence the pupil is called *Chhātra*.' The pupil had a staff (daṇḍa) and a bowl (kamaṇḍalu) in hand. He had to beg for alms from the neighbouring householders and present them to the teacher. The teacher got a parting gift of cows, or other substantial present, from the discharged disciple.

Rupture of the relationship was the result of faults of temper on the part of the teacher or failings and offensive conduct of the pupil. There were cases of pupils who did not take seriously to study but were with the teacher only for securing some worldly advantage. There were Tīrthakākas, who frequently changed their teachers; Odanapāṇinīyas, who studied Pāṇini only because

[1] *Manu*, II, 138, 240 and 241; *Gautama*, chap. VII.
[2] *Bhag. Gītā*, II; III, 65 and VI, I.

their maintenance was thereby assured; Ghṛta-randhryas and Kambaḷachārāyaṇīyas, anxious only to secure ghee or some comfortable covering blankets by taking to a life of studentship. There were also students who did not keep the whole term, but entered life before their studies were over (Khaṭvārūḍha). But these were apparently exceptional cases, laughed at by the literary world of the time.[1]

The educational system made for freedom both for teacher and taught. A mistake in the choice of the Guru could be rectified at any time in certain contingencies. One of these was incompetence or lack of knowledge on the part of the teacher. Another was the transgression of the law by him. A teacher could be deserted also if he used his pupil's time to the detriment of his studies. This was a necessary provision in an age when the pupil was by law and custom bound to do the teacher service of all kinds, which might by an unkind teacher be pushed far beyond reasonable limits. Other legitimate reasons for giving up one teacher and taking to another were the teacher's neglect of his own study and rituals, his negligence in imparting instruction, and commission by him of the cardinal sins. Lastly, there were cases of pupils going to different teachers, apparently one after the other, for learning the different branches of knowledge in which each was proficient.[2]

[1] *Pāṇini*, I, 4, 26, 28; II, I, 41; II, I, 26.

[2] *Āpastamba*, I, 5, 26; I, 4, 25. Six 'false teachers' (*asarvajñāh*) are mentioned in *Divyāvadāna* 21. *Asarvajñāh* is *sarvajñamāninah*. *Cf.* Speyer in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. XVI.

XVIII

HARMONY AND FREEDOM

The conditions of the time were indeed such as to ensure harmony and freedom in the relations of teacher and pupil. It is true that education was free, the pupil getting not only the tuition but boarding and lodging gratis. It should not be thought, however, that the teacher could afford, therefore, to defy the feelings of the students or lord it over them. The desire to teach, to gather bands of students and form an academic atmosphere, was so widespread that we have, since the Upanishadic times, prayers for more and more students. The teacher was patronized by princes and peoples, but there was no interference in his work or with his methods. He acquired and imparted culture for its own sake. He had to care but for his own conscience. His liberty was limited only by his desire for popularity among the student population and for the appreciation of his work by the public on which depended his social standing and reputation. He had no weapon other than moral persuasion for bringing round rebellious and mischievous students, whom the Jaina Sūtras compare to 'bad bullocks.'[1] It is true that Manu and other law givers provide for corporal punishment in exceptional cases, but the general opinion was against its infliction. But disciplinary difficulties seem to have been of rare occurrence

Did an honest difference of opinion lead to a

[1] Jacobi: *Jaina Sūtras*, pp. 149 and 152.

rupture? Youths whose personality was so prominent as to push differences to extremes were rare at all times in a conservative country. One classical exception is the great Yājñavalkya of Mithila. He disagreed with his teacher of the *Yajur-Veda*, who was, according to tradition, his own uncle, Vaiśampāyana. He repaired in disgust to the Himālayas and compiled a new system, known as *Śukla-Yajur-Veda*. Here we have the first recorded instance of revolt against the reigning religion of the time, centuries anterior to the great Buddha. Another dissentient pupil was Āpastamba, whose differences with his teacher Baudhāyana are narrated in the Purāṇas. These were the exceptions which prove the general rule that the pupil parted with his teacher on the most cordial terms and made him a handsome present at parting.

XIX

PLAY OF RATIONALISM

The system of education also made for liberty of thought and action. The Indian Reformation of the sixth century B.C. was not so much a revolt as the natural result of the forces working in the age. The free ideas of the Upanishads, the leap forward in speculative thought and in social opinions, fructified in the religions of the Buddha and Vardhamāna, in the school of Vāsudeva and in the atheistic system of Bṛhaspati. There was a general weakening of the force of tradition. The *Bhagavat Gītā* condemns the men merely steeped in Vedic lore and delighting

in disputations on details, men of florid eloquence instead of discriminating thought, men who are seekers of pleasure in this world and who bargain for material welfare even after death! Elsewhere it says clearly: 'The Vedas are concerned with the three *guṇas*. Get thou out of their clutches, oh Arjuna!' Again, the cowl 'does not make the monk, but an attitude of detachment from the results of works done.'[1] We find these ideas echoed in various other parts of the *Mahābhārata*. 'What need has a self-controlled man of the forest, and what use is the forest to one without self-control? Where the man who has controlled his self dwelleth, there is the forest, there the hermitage.'

Gautama Buddha pushes this tendency towards rationalism to its logical conclusion. 'When by your personal conviction you recognize that such and such things are bad, and to be rejected, that they are blameworthy, and that they are fit to be discarded, that they lead to evil and to suffering, then you must reject them!' 'Do not believe in traditions,' says he, 'simply because they have been handed down for generations, or in rumour or report because it purports to be founded on the written statement of a sage. Do not believe a thing as truth merely because you have been attached to it, without observation and analysis. When the result agrees with reason and is conducive to the good and benefit of all, then accept it and live up to it.'[2]

[1] *Bhagavat Gītā*, II, 45; VI, 1.

[2] *Anguttara Nikāya: Tika Nipātā*, 65, p. 7.

XX

RULES OF DISCIPLINE

The prime discipline of the student was to lead the life of Brahmacharya. This was regarded as a *nitya* duty—to be in observance every day and all day long. The vow of continence was absolute, and Gṛhya and Vedānta Sūtras are very rigorous on the subject. In the Buddhist texts we have the same injunction. The Buddha inculcates chastity and continence as cardinal virtues binding on all, clergy and laity alike. Aśoka, in his edicts, lays great stress on meditation and self-control (*pativetcha*). The Jaina records[1] (e.g. *Uttarādhyayana*) enjoin the devotee 'to study and meditate by himself.' Vardhamāna Mahāvīra added to the four virtues already insisted on by Pārśvanātha the fifth one of Brahmacharya. It is clear that in the educational system of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas, Brahmacharya was the foremost discipline for the disciple. So essential was this virtue that Brahmacharya came to denote both continence and discipleship. All our texts agree that discipline is more important than study. 'Agni granted Gaya the power to know the Vedas without study, simply as the result of his austerity, chastity, observances, vows, and the grace of the Gurus.'[2]

How to make sure of Brahmacharya and to steer clear of passions and temptations when youth passes into adolescence? This subject was one of

[1] Jacobi: *Jaina Sūtras*, S.B.E., XLV.
[2] *Mahābhārata*: Ādi Parva, 66, 2 f.

anxious care among the ancients. Manu has a simple recipe for counteracting sexual inclinations and the premature awakening of the sexual impulse. 'Give the mind absorbing work and the body plentiful exercise in the open air.' Sexual ideas breed in the darkness of the closed room and in the luxury of comfortable beds and belongings. Hence the unanimous condemnation in all the scriptures, Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina, of unguents and perfumes, flowers and high seats, beds, sandal, music, etc., which capture the mind through the gateways of the senses. Some of the texts, like the *Anugītā*,[1] even forbid secular music to the family man, on the ground that it would stimulate the senses to an undue extent. Further, the young men were to go out for alms and do other work of a strenuous and tiring nature. A story in the Pausha Parva of the *Mahābhārata* illustrates this somewhat Spartan rigour and the privations to which students were inured. Lastly, they were trained to regard with a brotherly eye all the tender-eyed maidens of the neighbourhood who bestowed alms, and the Guru's wife and other members of his household, with whom they were on familiar terms.

The Hindu system was thus a contrast to the Egyptian. In the latter, the sight of strange girls was to be avoided; in the former, ladies were looked on as mothers and sisters, so that the carnal idea was put out of place in spite of social freedom. The only exception was in the Buddhist and Jaina monasteries, where young men lived in bands, and the vice

[1] *S.B.E.*, Vol. VIII, p. 208. Compare *Gautama*, II, 13, and *Manusmṛti*, II, 178.

of homo-sexuality appears to have prevailed, as in modern times in hostels and boarding-houses, as described by Havelock Ellis.[1] The Buddhist records have severe rules against sexual misconduct. Mere talk with a woman was sinful, a wistful look at one was another sin, the very desire to see one was a third.[2] Monastic asceticism has a catalogue of punishments for falling off from strict Brahmacharya.

There was a similar contrast between Hindu and Buddhist prescriptions in the matter of diet. The ninth commandment of the Buddha expressly forbids gluttony. But Manu and the law-givers, excepting only Gautama, allow the student to eat *ad libitum* and cut down the rations only after student-life.[3] This was reasonable, as the restrictions in the case of a growing constitution would make for general debility and result in stunted growth. The *Bhagavat Gītā* makes the position clear. Merely curbing the body and allowing the mind to roam in the pleasures of the senses was a bad discipline.[4] True discipline consists in withdrawing the mind from sense-objects, instead of merely checking the senses. The *Gītā* forbids gluttony because over-eating stands in the way of success in the practices of the Yoga,[5] i.e. control of the mind. Elsewhere the *Gītā* admits that both disciplines are necessary—that of the senses and the body as

[1] *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Vol. I, p. 97.

[2] *Vinaya* (*S.B.E.*, vols. XIII, XVII and XX).

[3] *Baudhāyana*, II, 7, 13, 7; *Āpastamba*, II, 4, 9, 13. Similar rules are found in *Antagada Dasao*, p. 42. Cf. Strabo: 'It is impossible to extirpate vice quite till eating and drinking be put down.'

[4] *Mithyāchārah sa uchyate*. See *Bhagavat Gītā*, III, 6.

[5] *Nātyaśnatastu yogosti* in *Bhag. Gītā*. *Ato manah chanchalatvam yayau āhārasevayā* in *Śukasaptati*, I, 56. (See *Z.D.M.G.* for 1900, p. 643).

'ell as that of the mind, and considers the latter s a later stage in evolution.

The great positive discipline for the student was ıis Yoga. The Buddhist called it Vinaya. The nly difference lies in emphasis. The Hindu's bjective was spiritual progress in various stages, 'hich had its relation to conduct as a secondary ffect, while the Buddhists emphasized purity of ıind and conduct, however attained.[1] There was ot much difference in practice. The students had to et up in the small hours of the morning, and begin ıe day with chanting of the sacred texts in oncert. Then they went off severally to their daily outine of ablution. We have elaborate details ı regard to these matters. A piece of twig ke that of the mango was to be used, so that the ıice and the fibre might clean the teeth without 'eakening the gums. Then came the bath in cold 'ater, which toned up the brain and cooled the eye, nd kept the hair from turning prematurely grey. 'or invalids the bath in hot water was allowed, or ven a hot water towel-bath. But a bath every ıorning was compulsory on all; on Sundays, even on ck people. The hot climate required frequent athing, and the young Indian bathed at least once day, and often three times a day at the Sandhyā 'orships. When bathing in rivers the students used ne earth where we now use soap. Finally came he offering of the *Sandhyā*, accompanied with rayers to the deity for purification through water, hrough th vital airs, etc. The point to note is

[1] *Milinda*, 35, 117. Aśoka (Pillar Edict IV) seems to have regarded *pavāsa* or fasting as a means to this end.

that the Aryan sages were training the young man to look at the ordinary acts of life from the sublimest point of view. He might bathe in a mountain ravine, but he saw in it the mighty Ganges or the winding Yamunā, or even the confluence of the seven streams familiar to him from the Vedic age onwards.[1] The waters that washed him reminded him of the vast ocean and of the herbs which grew near the milky brine when the Moon shed her silver radiance on it and cured many a benumbed limb and aching heart. Everywhere he learnt to identify his interests with those of Nature's eternal forces.

Let us consider for a moment the details of some of the disciplinary rules. First, we have rules of sanitation: 'One should not use the bed, seat or conveyance of another man.' 'When going to bed change your clothes.' 'Rinse your mouths five times a day.' Secondly, we have directions for the promotion of intellectual activity: 'One should not sleep in the day-time.' 'Sleeping at Sandhyā shortens life.'[2] 'Eat only morning and evening and abstain from food during the interval.' 'Meat should not be eaten,' and 'continence should be practised.' Thirdly, we have the ethical and religious injunctions: 'Truth must be spoken and untruth abhorred.' 'One should not bathe naked (without clothes on).' 'One should not eat in the house of a man who unseated the sacred fire.'[3]

[1] *Imam me Gange Yamune*, etc.

[2] *Mahābhārata* : Anuśāsana Parva, 104, 27 ; 120, 87 ; 100, 56 ; 120, 29.

[3] *Cf.* Buddhist ethical practices in the *Sigalavāda Sutta* (*Anguttara Nikāya*, III, 76, 8).

XXI

MENTAL TRAINING

For the discipline of the mind there was the eightfold Yoga.[1] The moral discipline implied in *yama* comprised abstention from causing pain to living beings, truth in speech and action, chastity or continence, and absence of greed and anger. *Niyama* included the external purity of the body, contentment, faith in God and devotion to Him. *Āsana* was attuning the body to various convenient postures in meditation. It should be practised in good premises and on comfortable seats, so that the members of the body might not drag the mind away from contemplation, 'as the wind carries the boat off on the high sea.' Then came the regulation of the breath (*Prāṇāyāma*). It lessened the wear and tear of the body by reducing the routine work of the respiratory system. In the early morning, when the atmosphere is charged with ozone, deep breathing has a curative effect on the body. 'Breathing exercises are especially useful to literary workers, statesmen, professional men, and others who are unable to take one of the usual methods of exercise.'[2] It was to be learnt only from an expert, so as to guard against muscular strain in the lungs. The other parts of the Yoga discipline aimed at the training of the mind in concentration, at securing calmness of the mind and purity of feeling, so that the self, purged of its frailties, might realize its identity with the Universal Spirit.

[1] Patañjali: *Yoga Sūtras.*

[2] Sir H. Weber: *The British Medical Journal,* 5th Dec., 1903.

XXII

DISCIPLINE OF THE FEELING AND THE WILL

Discipline of the feeling and exercise of will-power were also integral parts of early Indian training.[1] The former is clear from an examination of the single sub-discipline of the Yoga—*Ahimsā.* It meant not only the not doing harm, but even the not rejoicing at the results of harm done by another to any being with life, human, animal or vegetable. The fact that not only animals but even plants had life and feeling, and must therefore be treated as our kin, was put in mind at every religious ceremony. The milk of the cow might be used, but only the surplus, such as might be thrown away after the calf had had its fill. The flower and the fruit might be used as this involved no harm to the tree, but a twig could be cut only in such a way as to facilitate further sprouting from the branch. Directions to this effect abound in the Śrauta Sūtras. The rites and rituals prescribed in the Gṛhya Sūtras imply not only discipline of the self but also development of will-power.

In the training of the will due attention was paid to the social duties of man and the calls of society on him. Will-power was to be developed not for selfish purposes, but in order to advance the *Dharma.* The greatest object-lesson was Rāmachandra, who developed the iron will in order that *Dharma* might

[1] Mahāvīra is described as Smāraka (reminding), Vāraka (guarding from profanity) and Dhāraka (holding or retaining). These were the essential qualities of a good teacher.

prevail, regardless of personal inconvenience and pain to relatives, as expounded in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Bhagavat Gītā* is intended to strengthen the will of the weak-willed Arjuna, in order that he might do his duty on the field of battle instead of giving way to fainthearted dereliction. Readings, as of the *Gītā*, the Purāṇas and the Epics, formed part of the daily study, and they served a very good purpose in training the will to live and to act one's part in life to the best of one's ability. There was a rigid adherence to the special duties assigned to each man, according to his class and grade; and a determined effort to follow the scheme of the first lessons in the exercise of will-power.

XXIII

METHODS

The usual method of study was by rote. The Śrotriyas were the most favoured students of the Veda learnt in this fashion.[1] The recitation was sometimes in a loud and sometimes in a low voice.[2] Pupils who could repeat correctly after a single repetition by the teacher (Ekasandhagrāhi) were rare, and the usual number of repetitions by the teacher was five,[3] which enabled the pupil to repeat without any mistake. The success of a student was judged from his capacity to repeat the whole Veda thus learnt without any fault whatever. There were some who made mistakes, and they were nicknamed

[1] *Pāṇini*, V, 2, 84. [2] *Ibid.*, II, 12. [3] *Ibid.*, V, 1, 58.

after the number of mistakes they committed, ranging from one to fourteen.[1]

Pupils were to read among themselves the texts they had learnt, and the secret of memory was repetition. But they were also expected at such repetition to reflect on the meaning of what they had memorized.[2] The Brāhmaṇas declare, as we have seen, that the man who knew the meaning and the significance of the ritual attained as high an end as the performer of the ritual. By Pāṇini's time there was so much of subsidiary Vedic studies, that there was a clear differentiation of the passages to be learnt by rote from the subjects to be known.[3]

There was a rigorous insistence on clearness of thought and accuracy of expression. The method of learning a foreign language through translations was not approvable in India. In regard to teaching foreign languages, the Indians were believers in the direct method. Strabo[4] informs us that the method of teaching by translations was laughed at in India. Onesicritus, one of Alexander's officers, interchanged ideas with the Brāhmans through three interpreters. The Hindu sages said that attempting to learn philosophy in that manner was 'to expect water to flow pure through mud.'

XXIV

CONVERSATION

The greatest contribution made by the Guru to the development of the mentality of the Śishya is

[1] *Pāṇini*, IV, 4, 63, 64.
[2] Yāśka: *Nirukta*, I, 18.
[3] Hence the *sūtra* '*tadadhīte tadveda*'—'That he learns by heart, that other he understands.'
[4] Strabo, p. 716.

probably to be traced to the informal conversations which were held between them. We have analogues in the Socratic method in Greece and in the instructions found in the *Talmud*: 'Haunt the company of learned men.' 'Even the ordinary conversation of the wise is instructive.' It is significant that most of our didactic and philosophical stories, as, for instance, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, are in the form of dialogues and conversations.

The *Mahāmangaḷa Sūtra*[1] recommends intercourse with Śramaṇas and religious conversations at due seasons. Hindu books analyse the latter into *vāda* or *saṃvāda*, like that between Arjuna and Krishṇa in the *Gītā*, *jalpa* or the raising of difficulties to be cleared, and *vitaṇḍavāda* or casuistry and sophistry.[2]

By these conversations every confusion was unravelled, every lurking error dragged to light, and enquiry on the right lines stimulated and directed. But the most valuable result was obtained by the close association with the teacher that these discussions entailed, and the realization that virtue was no mere subject for speculation or 'academic' discussion, but had to be practised with consistency of aim and power of will.

The atmosphere of student-life in those days had a great deal of social liberty and communion. It gave opportunity for mutual contact and social service among students. Manu says: 'The student learns only a fourth part from his teacher, a fourth

[1] *S.B.E.*, x, p. 43.

[2] *Cf.* Vātsyāyana on the *Nyāya Sūtras* of Gautama.

by self-study, a fourth from his fellows, and the last fourth by experience in after-life.'[1] There must have been informal discussions among disciples who were free to roam at large and ramble in the woods and amidst mountain scenery, and come in contact with Nature in its sublime and beautiful aspects; and the problems of life and philosophy were sought to be solved in those walks and discussions.

It is stated in the *Arthaśāstra* that secular branches of learning—Vidyās and Śilpas—were discussed at the meetings of the tribal republics.[2] In the Buddhist schools there was not so much attention paid to abstract metaphysics as to practical knowledge leading to righteous living. The Buddha himself was not concerned with the subtleties of a vague and fruitless philosophy, or with the dreamlands of delight beyond the tomb. The practical aspect of Buddhism reacted on the general attitude towards life and learning, and created an atmosphere where the useful arts flourished along with the fine arts, and secular branches of knowledge along with the spiritual.

XXV

THE BUDDHA AS TEACHER

Buddhism and Jainism introduced a few changes in the methods of teaching. They emphasized the use of the vernacular. The Buddha even refused to permit his Brāhman disciples to put his teaching into Sanskrit verse. He allowed every one

[1] *Āchāryāt pādamādatte pādam śishyah svamedhayā* |
Pādam sabrahmachāribhyah pādam kālakramena tu. ||

[2] *Arthaśāstra*, XI, para. 3. *Vidyā śilpa dyūta vaihārikeshu.*

to learn his doctrines in his own dialect.[1] But he did not put his teaching into writing, and it was handed down by word of mouth, as was the ancient custom.[2] The sacred works were written down only in the first century B.C. So also did the Buddha use the ancient method in regard to the use of illustrations by allegories, parables and stories and by laying stress on example in preference to precept, each one living the religion he taught. The *Mahāmaṅgaḷa Sūtra* considers religious conversation at due season as the greatest of the maṅgaḷas, i.e. good deeds, having in mind its educational value. Aśoka and the later Buddhists added concrete visual illustrations for teaching the Dhamma.[3]

The greatest contribution of Buddhism lay in its introduction of newer methods of maintaining discipline. Hindu records of early date are content with leaving the sinner to think over his sins in private, and thus to adjust his relations with his God; but Buddhism introduced the system of public confession. The *Uposatha* was not a confession before a priest, but confession before the assembled brethren in public. Again, corporal punishment, which was unusual till then, was sanctioned and came into common use. Manu and other law givers hedge it about with restrictions, confining the flogging to the back part of the body, the only instruments allowed being a thin rope or a piece of split bamboo. The teacher who flogged otherwise was 'guilty as a thief.'[4] But corporal punishment is usual in the

[1] *Chullavagga*, V, 33, 1. [2] *Dīpavaṁśa*, XX, 21.

[3] *Rock Edict*, IV. *Vimānadasaṇā hastidasaṇā cha aṇighamdhāni cha ananicha divyāni rūpani daśayitvā.* [4] *Manu*, VIII, 300.

Jātakas. In the *Tilamuṭṭhi Jātaka*,[1] for instance, the teacher at Taxila whips his pupil, the prince of Benares, for stealing. He strikes him thrice with a piece of bamboo, ordering two pupils to hold him by his hands. Still, the general feeling was towards mildness, as may be gathered from Kauṭilya's dictum, which has passed into a proverb, that the period of discipline for a boy terminates at the age of sixteen, and that he should thenceforth be treated as a 'friend.'

The Buddha respected the independence of the teachers and enforced deference from the pupils. To the former he said: 'Be a light unto yourselves.' In the *Avarīya Jātaka*[2] the law is taught to the king of Benares, who listens with folded hands, behind the teacher, sitting on the ground. In the *Chāvaka Jātaka*,[3] a king of Benares is taught the sacred texts. The pupil is on a high seat, under the mango tree, the teacher on a lower seat, during the lesson. The Bodhisatva realizes that it is against good form.

At the same time the freedom of the student was not hampered unduly, and his individuality was respected. The teacher, as of old, issues no 'commandments,' but only precepts, pointing out errors and their consequences, and desiring the pupil to avoid them. The Ādeśa and the Upadeśa of the Vedic period and later were recommendations rather

[1] *Jātaka*, II, 177. [2] *Ibid.*, III, 229.

[3] *Ibid.*, X, 309. 'The sage after previous meditation should preach with a courageous heart, taking a lofty seat in a clean place, and dressed in clean and coloured robes. He should use myriads of examples, delight and please the company, and not ask for anything.' (*Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, chap. XIII, stanzas 24, 26–29, 32-35).

than commands.[1] This idea was retained by the Buddhist teachers in their records like the *Petavatthu.*[2]

It was a noteworthy mark of the Buddha as a teacher that he adapted his teaching to the needs and the capacity of his disciples. As Watters well puts it: 'the Buddha suited his sermons and precepts to the moral and spiritual attainments and requirements of his audience.' Those who were low in the scale were led on gradually by the setting forth of simple truths, by parables and lessons and by mild restrictions as to life and conduct. At a later period of his ministry he taught higher truths and inculcated a stricter purity and more thorough self-denial. A good instance of the last is the gradual leading from flesh-eating, through stages of restrictions, to total prohibition. All these remarks apply only to the 'gradual' teaching, as we have it in earlier scriptures and *Vinaya* rules. But the 'instantaneous teaching' took no note of the circumstances and environments, revealed sublime spiritual truths to be comprehended and accepted at once by higher minds, taught for these a morality absolute and universal, and instituted for the professed disciples rules of eternal unchanging obligation.[3] The followers of the Buddha's cousin, Devadatta, were more puritanical, but less practical. They

[1] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, for 1920, p. 89.

[2] *E.g.*, II, 8, 8. There need be no reference to the 'transfer of gifts' in the passages, as is supposed by Mr. Fay in *J.A.O.S.* for 1923.

[3] *Yuan Chuang*, I, 56. Aśoka refers to the two methods in vogue in his time also, and prefers prohibition to restriction, which was 'of small account' and which he had adopted without much avail. (*Pillar Edict VII*).

insisted on total abstinence at the start, not only from meat but even from milk and its products.

XXVI

KRISHṆA AS TEACHER

The methods employed by Śrī Krishṇa in the *Bhagavat Gītā* may be considered in detail, as they represent the methods used by the best teachers of the highest knowledge from the Hindu point of view. His pupil, Arjuna, was a prey to a conflict of duties and had convinced himself that the best thing for him was to desist from fighting, though in a righteous cause, since it would come to the slaughter of his kith and kin, cousins and relations ranged in battle.

Śrī Krishṇa energizes him and pulls him up from the slough of despond and melancholy. 'Cast off this faint-heartedness,' says he. 'Be thyself—a hero and man of action!' Arjuna is now in an argumentative mood, and fashions all manner of reasons in support of his attitude of pseudo-asceticism. The sweetness and light of the teacher are evidenced by a 'significant smile' (prahasan iva) at this exhibition of a semblance of knowledge (prajñāvāda). Śrī Krishṇa draws him away from the pursuit of pleasure to a disinterested discharge of duty irrespective of the results.[1]

Two incidents in the story of the *Gītā* are parti-

[1] *Asamśayam mahābāho mano durnigraham chalam.* (VI. 35).
Aśoka uses *chapala* in the same sense in his *Pillar Edict*, I. Krishṇa asks Arjuna :—*Kacchidetat śrutam Pārtha tvayaikāgryeṇa chetasā.* (XVIII, 72).

cularly interesting from the point of view of methodology. The Viśvarūpadarśana[1] indicates the fact that known and familiar incidents gain in significance when the proper point of view (*Divya chakshus*) is offered. This is what Aśoka means by *Chakshurdāna* (*Chakshudāne*). The educator's real work consists in evolving in the opening mind the full significance of the things that are imperfectly known or comprehended. Secondly, knowledge realized fructifies into action after the example of the teacher.[2] 'He is dear to me who does my work, having my ideal always in mind, and consequently at peace with all beings.' Śrī Krishṇa suggests[3] and Arjuna replies towards the close of the *Gītā* that he has now understood things in the proper light, and that he will translate into action the word of the teacher.

The catechetical method is also in evidence. 'Know it after paying homage to the teacher, questioning him when doubts cross thy mind, and doing the service he would have thee do.' Arjuna pays homage, surrendering himself unto the hands of the teacher. 'I am thy pupil, seeking refuge in thy counsel: order me as to which is the best course for me to follow.' At every step he puts questions; sometimes, too, by way of respectful protest. 'You say that knowledge is better than action; why then do you insist on my doing this horrid deed of slaughtering my kindred in battle?' 'You praise renunciation (sanyāsa) and action (karma yoga) in

[1] *Ibid.*, chap. XI; *cf. Pillar Edict II.*
[2] *Matkarmakṛt matparamah. Bhag. Gītā*, XI, 55.
[3] *Karishye vachanam tava. Ibid.*, XVIII, 73.

the same breath. Tell me, please, for certain, which of these two is the better course.'[1] 'You say you discovered this knowledge, and the others like Vivasvat and Manu learnt it after you. But you were born later than the others. How am I to understand this?' And Śrī Krishṇa makes his position clear, pointing out that by renunciation he meant not that of all action, as Arjuna understood it, but only that of the results of action; that both the paths are good, but that of action is the better; and that there are a series of births for any being, the previous births being known only to men of spiritual vision.

The teacher's sympathy with the difficulties of the pupil stands clearly out. When Arjuna suggests that control of the mind is more easily preached than practised—' that the mind like the wind is unsteady and goeth as it listeth and is impossible of restraint,' Krishṇa quietly replies: 'Truly, oh man of action! mind is most difficult to restrain; but by slow and steady effort and by detachment from sense-objects it is brought gradually under control.' He is anxious to know, after the teaching is over, whether it has been fully comprehended and whether difficulties have been finally cleared.[2]

[1] *Sanyāsam karmaṇām Krishṇa punaryogam cha śamsasi* |
Jyāyasī ched karmaṇaste matā buddhir Janārdana |
Tatkim karmani ghore mām niyojayasi Keśava |
Vyāmiśrēṇaiva vākyena buddhim mohayasīva me ||

[2] *Bhagavat Gītā*, VI, 35; XVIII, 72.

XXVII

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

We have seen that there were several arts and crafts in the Vedic period, but we had little information as to how education in these was imparted. We are enabled to gather some idea from the Buddhist records. The Indian system was primarily one of hereditary transmission of skill in arts and crafts. The Bodhisatva is a conch-player when he is a conch-player's son, a merchant when a merchant's son, a doctor when born to a doctor.[1] But instruction was also imparted to pupils by teachers in centres of renown like Taxila, on various terms. Knowledge of medicine was acquired by Jīvaka by serving an apprenticeship for seven years under a famous teacher. The apprentice rendered personal service, but teachers of inferior grade (Upādhyāya) charged fees for instruction. In any case, the artist's or artisan's workshop was the industrial school. The State encouraged very liberally the craftsmen who introduced highly-trained apprentices to the king.[2] Even princes did not scorn manual labour or the humbler arts of the spade and the wheel. We have a prince becoming an apprentice to a potter, a gardener, a florist, and a cook.[3] In the story of Jīvaka we are told that even in royal families idlers were not habitually tolerated, and that it was not easy to eke out one's living without the knowledge of some ai . There were various practical and useful

[1] *Jātaka*, I, 2, 60, 69, 98, 194, 312.
[2] *Milinda*, VI, 9 and 10.
[3] *Jātaka*, 531.

arts in which the youths of the time could get technical education and vocational instruction. Archery of a high order was taught at Taxila, as we learn from the *Bhīmasena Jātaka*. The *Campayya Jātaka* refers to the instruction in snake-charming which was possibly included under the general art of medicine. The apprentices helped the master-craftsman at his work, and their labour doubtless added to his earnings.

XXVIII

LOCALIZATION OF ARTS AND CRAFTS

In course of time there was a specialization of centres and agencies of industrial and vocational education. Special localities in towns became the residence of master-craftsmen who had both company and some sort of guild-organization to keep them in those places. The ivory-workers were thus quartered in one locality in the city of Benares,[1] and the dyers, perfumers and the florists in other parts.[2] At Śrāvasti the weavers had a special corner.[3] Sometimes the crafts were localized in the rural suburbs of the cities, such as those of potters, carpenters, blacksmiths and mariners.[4] To any of these pupils could resort as apprentices, irrespective of caste or creed. The only crafts which they could not learn were the building of ships and the making of armour : the armour-makers and the ship-builders

[1] *Jātaka*, I, 320 ; II, 197.
[2] *Ibid.*, IV, 81, 82.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, 356.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, 137, 208 ; III, 281, 376, 508.

worked for the king alone.[1] Ship-building was a monopoly of the Admiralty department. The manufacture of salt, too, was a government monopoly ;[2] while manufacture of mineral products was confined to a particular spot. There were also social restrictions on the choice of a career, as some callings were looked down upon as undignified (*hīnaśip-pāni*).

Artisans enjoyed special protection and encouragement. Those who conspired to lower the quality of the work of artisans, to hinder their income or to obstruct their sales and purchases were severely punished.[3] Strabo informs us that anyone who caused an artisan the loss of a hand or an eye was liable to capital punishment.[4]

XXIX

HIGHER TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Of higher technical education, too, we get a few glimpses in the Buddhist sources. The Suttas refer to Upāli's study of *Rūpa*, *Lekha* and *Gaṇana*, which cause some trouble respectively to the eye, the finger, and the heart. That this much of commercial education was part and parcel of the training of princes, we learn not only from the *Kauṭilīya* but from the *Hāthigumphā inscription* of Khāravela of Kalinga,[5] a prince who claims to have been proficient

[1] *Strabo*, XV, 46. [2] *Arthaśāstra*, II, 12 (p. 84).
[3] *Arthaśāst*· I, iv, 2 (p. 205). [4] *Ibid.*, XV, 54.
[5] *Lekha rūpa gaṇanā vyavahāra* (*vaivahāra*) *vidhiviśāradena sarvavidyāvadātena*. See *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for 1916 and 1918.

in those three subjects. Rūpa has been differently interpreted by scholars as referring to money-changing, to commercial and agricultural arithmetic and to the science of coinage. Kauṭilya[1] speaks of Rūpya-rūpa and Tāmra-rūpa. It is possible to interpret these terms as referring to silver and copper coinage, but it is hard to see how Upāli's eye-trouble could be accounted for in this connection. To determine the relative value of coins was the principal function of the Rūpa-darśaka of the Maurya court, and may have entailed close application of the eye. But these terms might refer also to plastic and pictorial arts. Image-casting in metal, probably copper, was one of the State industries yielding revenue in the Maurya period. In the *Kuśa Jātaka*[2] the prince casts a golden image of his ideal bride, which was more beautiful than that fashioned by the chief smith of the palace. The story goes to show that image-making was part of the curriculum in the education of a prince. With this agrees Patañjali's statement that the Mauryas, greedy for gain, dealt in images of gods. In the *Lalitavistara* Rūpakarma is reckoned among the Kalās, and casting of coins would be an impossible meaning. Lekha means, of course, the art of calligraphy and communication of ideas by signs and symbols of various kinds, as implied in *lipimudra* in the *Lalitavistara*.[3] Gaṇana clearly means arithmetic, accounts and book-keeping. The whole expression reminds one of *Muddagaṇanasankhalekhaśilpatthanesu* in the *Miḷinda Praśna*.[4]

[1] *Arthaśāstra*, II, 12.
[2] *Jātaka*, No. 531.
[3] Page 178.
[4] *Miḷinda* 59, 13.

XXX

ORGANIZATION: EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

We now pass on to the organization of teaching in the period. The school was usually the teacher's house, and, as more and more students came in, some sort of organization was necessary. There is no evidence yet of Āchāryas or Kulapatis with thousands of students, but there were many more students than a single teacher could control. Hence the resort to the monitorial system, the senior boys teaching the junior. In the monastic schools this was the only system possible, and the senior pupil acted as Piṭṭhi-Āchārya (under-teacher). It appears to have worked well on the whole, as we have no instances of complaints against the seniors prominently mentioned in the Buddhist texts, which are naïve enough to cite instances of silly quarrels among the Bhikkhus. It would appear from the *Lalitavistara* that there were secular schools for teaching the three R's and moral stories to the young.

As learning grew more specialized, there were different classes of schools for teaching different subjects. For instance, Yājñavalkya had to study the four Vedas under four different Gurus. Particular places acquired a reputation for special branches of knowledge, like Taxila for medicine, Ujjain for astronomy, and Benares for theology. We get an idea from the Jātaka literature[1] how new centres of learning grew up in this period. There

[1] *Jātaka*, III, 353; IV, 487; III, 436.

were teachers of great renown in different places, e.g. at Taxila. At Benares was a world-renowned professor teaching Vedas to five hundred students. City-life meant disturbance to him and distraction to his students. So he betook himself to the forest and put up a leafy hut for his residence, near which his disciples erected similar habitations against wind and weather. Presents of the necessaries of life poured in, first from the kinsfolk of the students and, later on, from the people of the country. 'The foresters also offered their gifts, and a certain donor endowed them with a milch-cow.' This was how seats of learning were encouraged and endowed by people in ancient India. These specialized seminaries of learning were neither jealous nor exclusive. Intercourse of the highest kind continued as before in the Parishads, where men of all sorts and of diverse views met and mingled, and questions of importance were discussed and decided. Scholars who gave proof of original work and independent thought were liberally rewarded by kings and chieftains, who patronized these discussions and honoured them with their presence. Jaina Sūtras enjoin reverence to all teachers, Brāhmaṇa as well as Śramaṇa.[1] Aśoka's inscriptions show that he counted Brāhmans as well as Ājīvikas among his teachers.

Specialized studies and research were helped largely by the 'Forest-Colleges.' Sages sat in the cool and scented shade, beneath a dense canopy of

[1] Naimiśāraṇya was a University in the *Mahābhārata*, and there were taught Vedas and Aṅgas, Ātmavijñāna, Brahmopāsana, Mokshadharma, Lokāyata and Vaiśeshika, Nyāya and Tarka, natural and physical sciences, and Geometry.

green foliage, to meditate and improvise poems. Many rested for hours on end in this paradise of nature, and gazed and thought in silence. The scholar wandered at will amidst dim twilight lawns and stream-illumined caves. He got instruction which aimed at profound rather than at swift and alert thought. The harmonies of nature permeated the consciousness, and her calm soothed the restlessness of the mind. It was an education of the kind that lifted the savage to the sage and the saint, the barbarous to the fraternal, the warring to peace. Men surrounded with beauty and joy could not but grow into harmonious relations with each other. Such were the men whose muses found vent in lyrical poetry and philosophical speculation of inestimable value.

Of the University centres, the earliest were those of Benares, Ujjain and Taxila.[1] We learn from the *Dhammapadātthakathā*[2] that a student went to Taxila from Benares for studying the *śilpa* and had five hundred class-mates. The *Mahāvagga*[3] has reference to teachers at Taxila, to whom students were going for the study of the śilpas (the Arts), while we are told in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[4] that *vyavahāra* (Law) was a specialized subject there. So much reputation had been gained by Taxila as a centre of learning that we are told by Pāṇini that Takshaśila

[1] Jacobi: *Jaina Sūtras*, p. 403.

[2] *Pāḷi Text Society Ed.*, I, 250.

Atīte Vārāṇasī nagara vāso eko māṇavo Takkasilam gatvā sippam uggahanathyāya visāpomāddhassa Āsiriyassa dhammantevāsiko hanva pañchannam māṇavakasatānam antare ativiya Ācharyassa upakarako ahosi.

[3] *Mahāvamśa*, VIII, 1, 5 and 6.

[4] *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 101, 11.

as the surname of a person denoted that his ancestors had lived at Taxila,[1] while the *Mahābhārata* declares the men of Taxila to be unrivalled in discussions on matters of learning.[2]

XXXI

EDUCATIONAL IDEALS[3]

The *Bhagavat Gītā* makes it clear that the training of the Indian was to enable him to fill his place in social life with credit to the community to which he belonged. It should teach him the rights and duties 'holding all together' (*Dharma*). Arjuna was told to fight because it was his duty as a man actuated by the Kshatriya spirit. 'You cannot keep quiet,' says Krishṇa. 'You cannot stem the current of your natural tendencies and proclivities; therefore, use your innate power in the right direction.' Working in accordance with in-born tastes and aptitudes was much better than going against the grain and copying another's conduct. Individuality of effort in discharging the duty of social service expected of a man was a greater gain than victory achieved in a field where there was no call from society. It is satisfactory to note that modern opinion is veering round to this view, and seeks to curb the individual impulse and sectarian or compartmental aims in the interests of society as a whole. Sciences and arts

[1] *Pāṇini*, IV, 3. 93.
[2] *Mahābhārata*; Ādi Parva, III, 172,
[3] *Arthaśāstra*, I, 2.
Mahābhārata: Ādi Parva, I, 2, 383.

are converging to social service instead of aiming at abstract specialization. Medical thought is escaping from hospitals and post-mortem rooms to look after public health in the open air. It is addressing itself to prevention, rather than cure, of the vicious circle, in which the poor find themselves, of poverty, ignorance, vice and crime. Lawyers are going beyond crimes and criminals to the social origins and the psychological causes of crime. Engineers have understood that town-planning, with due regard to the habits of the people and their social needs is as important a consideration in techtonic art as strength of material or economy in construction. Teachers have come to realize that a smattering of some subjects or specialized knowledge in one of them no longer meets educational requirements, but that there should be an educational structure planned broad and deep and in accordance with the ends in view, individual, social, national and universal.

But the Indian educator went a step further. His task was to prepare his material not only for organized social life in the world, but for the spiritual evolution in progress through eternity. The Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina regarded this life but as a link in the endless chain of eternity. They never lost contact with this profound truth even in the darkest days of political servitude or social humiliation. The past had been crystallized into the present experience of the individual; and in the present lay the womb of futurity. Hence in all faculties of the ancient scheme of the arts and sciences, the dominating force was ethical, social and spiritual.

It is hardly necessary to refer to the *Dharma*-subjects in this connection, as they correspond to law in modern times—civil, canon, moral and scientific. The daily insistence on the need for Vedic study was based on the principle that there is an infinity of force pent up in the human soul, and that it is made kinetic by degrees, by dwelling on omnipotence ; and that the best and the easiest passport of success, even in this world, is to keep in line with cosmic forces.

Even the professedly secular studies comprised in the Arthaśāstras and having worldly ends in view are to some extent based on *Dharma*. Kauṭilya builds discipline on the Vedas and includes Dharmaśāstras and Purāṇas in the curricula of studies drawn up for Indian princes. He sums up the object of study thus : 'From hearing ensues knowledge, thence Yoga (steady application), thence Ātmavattā (self-possession.)'[1] It is interesting to notice that he regards knowledge only as a means whereby to attain the end—self-possession. We have evidence writ large in the pages of the *Kauṭilīya* to the effect that its author has no compunction of conscience, and fights shy of no ignoble methods in state-craft and diplomacy, when it comes to the king's building his fortune on the ruins of a formidable rival or even of his own recalcitrant subjects. We can, therefore explain his ethical flight in this passage only by supposing that he was giving the general view of the end and aim of education in his own time. He emphasises the social aim of education in his injunc-

[1] *Arthaśāstra*, I, 2. It appears likely that the Dharmaśāstras are elaborations of the principles originally hinted at in the two *Mīmāmsās* and in *Kalpa*. (See p. 55 *supra*).

tion to the king to follow the Śāstras, which meant, of course, an injunction to follow the course prescribed by the best minds and hearts of India from time to time. 'A man who is misled into ignoring the sociological rules laid down in the Śāstras brings, by his lawlessness, ruin both on himself and on his kingdom.'[1] The law herein implied is the social and moral order of the universe which the king was expected to preserve and to protect. One is reminded of exactly the same teaching in the *Bhagavat Gītā*: 'Śāstras shall be your search-light in discriminating what may and what may not be done.[2] He who neglects this guidance cometh to no good.'

The scheme of studies that aimed at furthering the department of human desires and endeavours, Kāma, was certainly an exception. The accomplishments comprised under this department were those that ministered to pleasure in worldly life. Even sexual science and eugenics were not included in this category; they were taught in the Dharmaśāstras, which have detailed rules regarding the relations of the sexes. This circumstance accounts for the fact that orthodox opinion came gradually to boycott the Kāmaśāstra. But this situation had not been reached even by the early centuries after Christ. The *Mahābhārata* states that *Dharma*, *Artha*, and *Kāma* Śāstras were the triad constituting the Great Epic.[3]

[1] *Chalitaśāstrabuddhih.* (p. 324. Cp. p. 9).

[2] *Tasmāt śāstram pramāṇam te kāryākāryavyavasthitau.* (XVI, 24).

[3] Ādi, I, 2, 383.

XXXII

EDUCATION OF PRINCES

The curricula of studies mentioned in the *Artha-śāstra*[1] refers primarily to the education of princes. After Upanayanam the prince learnt the Three Vedas, and the Vedic study included not only interpretation, but sciences ancillary to it, which are referred to in the *Divyāvadāna* as Nighaṇṭu and Ketubham. He then studied the Ānvīkshikī under men of good conduct (Śishṭa). This term comprised Sānkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata systems—general philosophy, discipline of the mind, and doctrines about the origin of the world. Kauṭilya emphasizes the importance of this course, on account of its scientific and critical method and considers the study a good preparation and training for the other branches of knowledge.[2] After the necessary discipline, mental and moral, provided by these two subjects, the prince entered on his study of Economics (Vārtā) and Politics (Daṇḍanīti). The former is defined as the knowledge relating to agriculture, cattle-breeding and merchandise. We do not know whether treatises or text-books actually existed on these subjects. But Kauṭilya's general discussions and differences with his predecessors, which he takes pains to reiterate, seem to show that some body of doctrine on the subject was trans-

[1] *Arthaśāstra*, 1, 2. The curricula of studies prescribed for princes in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are: Dhanurveda, Nītiśāstra, Śīksha (lore) of elephants and chariots, Ālekhya and Lekhya (painting and writing), Langhana (jumping), and Plavana (swimming). (Bāla. Kāṇd, 80, 27 f.).

[2] *Etāsām hetubhiranvīkshamāṇā.* Vaiśeshika and Nyāya appear in Buddhist texts in place of Lokāyata in this scheme.

mitted orally, if not in writing. To mention one point of detail, Kauṭilya discusses the relative importance of the trade with the Himālayan tracts and that with South India, differs from his Āchārya, and establishes his own view. What is important to note is, that princes and politicians in those days were expected to have clear views on such economic questions. Lessons in Daṇḍanīti were to be taken from theoretical as well as practical politicians (Vaktr-prayoktrbhyah), probably high officers of the State and superintendents of the various departments. There is no mention of instructors for the common people on the various callings and trades. It is stated that Economics was to be studied by princes under State superintendents.

After the tonsure, the prince learnt the alphabet (lipi) and arithmetic. This was at the age of three or five. After the Upanayana were learnt the Three Vedas, Logic, Economics and Politics. Elementary education was finished before the Upanayana, which took place, usually, between the ages of five and eight, but was put off till ten or twelve in the case of less advanced lads. The prince was allowed to marry after sixteen. Then the routine of the day was thus arranged for him: He learnt the military arts in the forenoon and Itihāsa in the afternoon. The latter included Purāṇa (tradition), Itivṛtta (history preserved in legends), Ākhyāyikā (tales) and Udāharaṇa (illustrative stories), Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra (ethics, politics and economics).[1] During the rest of he day and night he was to receive new

[1] Including the ethics of warfare and the principles of inter-state diplomacy. (*Vide.* S. V. Viswanatha: *International Law in Ancient India*, Longmans, 1925).

lessons, and revise the old ones. He was 'to hear over and over again what has not been clearly understood.'

Princes were sent abroad in their sixteenth year for instruction, and though there might be a famous teacher living in their city, kings often used to send their sons to far-off countries, to complete their education, that 'by this means they might learn to quell their pride and highmindedness, and endure heat and cold, and be made acquainted with the ways of the world.'[1] On finishing their education they 'wandered through towns and villages and all the land' before returning home, in order to acquire a knowledge of all practical usages and varying observances.[2]

The importance of the science of Vārtā was well appreciated in the period. This we know not only from the references to several earlier writers in the *Kauṭilīya*, but from the mention of the importance of the subject in the Epic and Sūtra literature and in the Jātakas. We find in the Sabhā parva of the *Mahābhārata*[3] Nārada asking Yudhishṭhira whether there were tanks in suitable places to supplement the rainfall, whether the rate of interest was as low as one per cent, whether efficient men were administering the Vārtā, for, 'in Vārtā lies the happiness of the people.'[4] The last statement was apparently an old adage, as we find it also in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Vārtā was practically the same as the Arthaśāstra, on which the ministers

[1] *Jat.*, II, 277.

[2] *Jat.*, III, 238.

[3] Sabhā Parva, v. *cf.* Vana Parva, I, 50. *Vārtayā dhāryate sarvam.*

[4] *Rāmāyaṇa*: Ayōdhyā Kāṇd., *Vārtāyām samśritah tāta loko hi sukhamēdhate.* (C. 48) Cp. Kauṭilya's '*Arthānayau vārtāyām.*'

depended for guidance.[1] The subject-matter of the study may be gathered from these passages and from Kauṭilya's description of the work of officers in various departments. It embraced the most important divisions of Economics in relation to practical administration. Not only production but equitable distribution and convenience of transport were objects of attention. These included implements of agricultural well-being, bullock and cattle-diseases, hides and skins and wool; smithy, carpentry and rope-making; reservation of produce, enforced especially to serve in times of famine; weights and measures and the relation of the weight of the material to that of the manufactured product;[2] prices, wages and coinage; toll and passport regulations; manufacture of rice, oils, etc., and weaving as a domestic industry for old and helpless women, widows, girls and orphans. The Arthaśāstras were regarded not only as the curricula for princes and servants of governments, present or prospective, but as accomplishments of cultured people. We find in the *Śukasaptatī* merchandise, story-telling, painting and Arthaśāstras included among the Kalās.[3]

The life-stories of the Buddha and Mahāvīra show that several of these arts were actually the subjects of training in the schools of the time. These were Kshatriya princes, and, as was natural, military training predominated in their early education. When Goyame was past eight years, they sent him to a teacher of the arts on an auspicious day. He learnt the eighteen vernaculars, delighted in song,

[1] *Jātaka*, II, 30, 74. [2] *Arthaśāstra*, II, 13–15, 23, 25, 29, 34, 41.
[3] *Story* 50. *Z.D.M.G.* for 1901, p. 41.

music and dance, was able to fight with his arms on horse, elephant and chariot, and became clever in boxing and night-sallying.[1] Gautama's training included leaping, running and wrestling; walking, jumping and swimming; riding, boxing and archery. Here we have for the first time a detailed description of what the Aryan boys did in the open air both in the morning and evening. Then we have the general sciences and arts: Writing, book-making and story-telling, poetry, grammar, arithmetic, glossary, Nigamas, Purāṇas, Itihāsa, Vedas, Nirukta, Śikshā, Chhandas, Yajña ritual and ceremonial; Sānkhya, Yoga and Vaiśeshika doctrines; logic, economics and ethics; medicine, surgery and anatomy; characteristics of men, women, horses and cattle, and several esoteric branches of knowledge, such as cries of animals and birds, divining other's thoughts, unravelling enigmas and explaining dreams. Lastly, came the æsthetic training and accomplishments, music, dancing and drama; recitation and symphony; lac-work, wax-work, needle-work, and basket-making; leaf-carving, dyeing clothes and tinting jewels; and hair-dressing, decoration, pantomime and masquerade. We have to note particularly the mixed nature of the curri-

[1] *Antagada Dasao*, p. 81. Dr. Barnett translates '*nagara-vaccham*' as 'city-police.' *Kākaṇi* is 'jewel, insignia of a Chakravarti' or a coin as I take it (*cf. Arthaśāstra*, II, 19, p. 103). He translates *sajīvam* and *nirjīvam* as the giving and taking of life, apparently after Childers' (Pāḷi Dictionary). But the reference is really to the game of chess, which along with archery and other accomplishments of the Buddha is mentioned by Yuan Chwang (Watters: *Yuan Chwang*, II, 2, 9, 14). Chess was sometimes played with living pieces—slave girls—as in the *Pachisi* court of Akbar's time. Dr. Venkatasubbiah considers it as gambling but the game of gambling has already been mentioned as *dyūtam*. The first reference to chess is, I believe, in *T. A. T.*, II: *mṛtam jīvam cha*.

cula. They gave a broad culture and did not seek to turn out a specialist. Specialization was the efflorescence of culture, springing up spontaneously and not laboriously built up by training.

XXXIII

CURRICULA

Pāṇini distinguishes between the various classes of literature which were the subject-matter of study in his age. First, are placed the Vedic texts as originally revealed by inspired sages like Vāmadeva.[1] He differentiates this *Dṛshṭa* literature from the *Prokta*, which comprises the texts as arranged by teachers for convenience in exposition and recitation or for purposes of rituals, comments or directions by the redactors, and summaries and formulæ for daily use. To this second class belong the Taittirīya and Kāṭhaka recensions of the *Yajur-Veda*, the Paippalāda the *Atharva-Veda*, and the Śaunaka and Śākala of the *Ṛg-Veda*;[2] some ancient Brāhmaṇa and Kalpa works; Naṭa-Sūtras and Bhikshu-Sūtras. The Brāhmaṇa and Kalpa works were included because of their significance in Vedic ritualism, and the Bhikshu-Sūtras were manuals for the conduct of ascetics. It is not easy to see what the Naṭa-Sūtras may have meant, but there is reason to believe that they referred to the primitive dramatic performances of a sacred character, like the killing of Kamsa by Krishṇa. Thirdly, Pāṇini mentions the work

[1] *Pāṇini*, IV, 2. The *Darśanas* are apparently so styled because they are systems based on this *dṛshṭa* literature.

[2] *Ibid.*, IV, 3, 128.

of original thinkers and system-makers like himself.[1] The term Upajña apparently denotes that their works were the result of reflection and meditation on the raw-materials supplied by the earlier writers. In the fourth category he places works of imagination like ancient tales or works of fiction dealing with mythological subjects. He cites Śiśukranda, Yamasabha and Indrajanana, and the *Vārtikā* cites as instances the Devāsura and Rakshāsura, evidently mythical stories of the relations of Devas and Asuras and of the Rākshasas and Asuras. Patañjali adds to the list old tales like those of Vāsavadattā, Sumanottarā and Bhaimavatī, which were styled Ākhyāyikas in contrast to Ākhyānas, or historical tales; Kāvya or poetical works like those of Vararuchi and ślokas known as Jālūka. These latter are described by Pāṇini[2] as verses in praise of some one, distinguished from Gāthās, which were old adages.[3] Verses in praise of men remind one of the Nārāśamsis of the later Vedic age, which have the same meaning and apparently the same purport. But they are perhaps as old as the Gāthās, with which they are clubbed in the Vedic passages. Perhaps by Pāṇini's time the composition of the Gāthās was discontinued, but that of Nārāśamsis continued, which raises the presumption that all Gāthās are earlier than Pāṇini. It is possible that in Kātyāyana's reference Rakshāsuram denotes the ancient conflict of the Dravidians and Assyrians of which faint echoes were preserved in the post-Vedic period.

[1] *Pāṇini*, IV, 3, 101–111; IV, 3, 115.

[2] IV, 3, 87; IV, 3, 85; IV, 3, 101; III, 1, 25.

[3] Pāṇini mentions also the *Mahābhārata* in VI, 2, 38.

Commentaries (vyākhyāna) on sacrifices, on grammatical sections, on hymns and on Vedic divisions generally—Chhandas, Brāhmaṇika, Archika, Adhvarapauraścharaṇika and on miscellaneous matters, are placed by Pāṇini in the last class. Patañjali mentions some of these by name: Pākayajñika (relating to Pākayajña),[1] Navayajñika, etc., commentaries on *Nirukta*, *Vyākaraṇa*, and *Kalpa*, such as Agnishṭoma, Rājasūya, and Vājapeya. The Anu-Brāhmaṇas mentioned by Pāṇini may also be placed under this head. That grammatical activity was at its height in Pāṇini's time we gather from the names of numerous illustrious predecessors mentioned by him, such as Āpiśali, the founder of a school, and from his reference to the Eastern and Northern schools of grammarians.[2]

XXXIV

THE KALAS

Some of the Kalās were considerably anterior to the Christian era, as we gather from the mention of details regarding the same in Patañjali. Patañjali mentions experts in augury from observation of the habits and doings of crows (Vāyasa-vidyikā), in the interpretation of signs and omens (lakshaṇikā), in the knowledge of auspicious or inauspicious marks in men and women (aṅga-vidyā), horses (aśvalakshaṇikā) and cows (gaulakshaṇikā); in military science (kshatra-vidyā), archery (dhanurvidyā) and lac-work (lākshika). He mentions Itihāsas, Purāṇas,

[1] *Tait. Sam.*, I, 6.

[2] *Pāṇini*, IV, 3, 66; IV, 3, 70, 73; IV, 3, 68; IV, 2, 63; III, 4, 18, 19.

Ākhyānas and Ākhyāyikas.[1] All these references show that at least as early as the second century B.C. training in some of the Kalās was part and parcel of a sound system of popular education.

The science and art of æsthetics was developed in this period and the Kalās are the consequence. The Jaina Sūtras[2] mention sixty-four accomplishments of ladies, and say that the seventy-two Kalās include lekha and gaṇita. The former included eighteen scripts corresponding to the eighteen vernacular tongues in which Mahāvīra was proficient.[3] Then follow arithmetic (gaṇita), and impersonation (rūpa). The latter term is apparently explained in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[4] which speaks of courtesans as going to the city under the guise of sages. Dancing, singing and instrumental music (nṛtya, gīta and vādya), drum and cymbals (pushkaragītam and shampātāḷam) are referred to in Buddhist as well as Jaina books.[5] Then come gambling, a favourite amusement of the period, and the game of chess on a board of eight columns square. Next appear the charming arts of vulgar and civilized conversation, of composing verses and riddles, of reciting Māgadhī verses, gāthās and sagas; rules regarding the preparation and service of food and drink, housekeeping, processes of making ornaments in gold, and

[1] *Pāṇini*, IV, 2, 60. Specialists in story-telling are referred to in IV, 4, 102 (*kāṭhaka*); in dance and song (*nāṭyam*) in IV, 3, 129; in playing on the tabor (*mārdaṅgika*) in IV, 4, 85; in fighting with swordsmen or with cavalry (*asibhiryuddham* and *aśvairyuddham*) in IV, 1, 59.

[2] *Kalpasūtra, p.* 74. *Chatusshashṭi mahiḷāguṇe.*

[3] *Samavāya Sūtra*, p. 54; *Nandi Sūtra*, pp. 376 f.

[4] Bālakāṇḍa, 9, 5. *Munivesha pratichhannāh.*

[5] *Dīgha Nikāya*, I, 6; *Jātaka*, VI, 6, 21, 277.

toilet, perfumes and powders.[1] Then follows the knowledge of the qualities of men and women, of beasts and birds, of coins, gems and precious metals, and of staves, bracelets and swords. Besides, there were the arts of engineering and building camps and cities; the softer recreations of mixing water with clay for plastic art; the engraving on metal-leaves and bracelets (patrachhedam and kaṭakachhedam); and playing with cells, threads and lotus-stalk. Military arts and sciences were also included, which comprised the formation of arrays, columns and counter-columns, such as the flying, wheel, cart, and kite; and the methods of heavy fighting, fist-fighting, branch-fighting (niyuddha), arrow-shooting and wielding the sword.[2]

In the face of these facts it is difficult to believe Strabo when he says: 'The Indians do not pursue accurate knowledge in any line, except medicine; in the case of other arts, it is even accounted vicious to carry their study far, the art of war, for instance.'[3] Their mining and smelting industries were primitive, says he; but the finished products of Indian industry were much in demand (not the raw material) in the markets of Persia and the west. Strabo's confession as to the skill of the Indian craftsman is more creditable as he supports his observation by references to concrete instances. The Indian craftsmen cleverly learnt from the Greeks the art of making sponges, oil-flasks, and scrapers. Here is evidence that Indian genius was not prejudiced against foreign influences, but could easily absorb what was good in them.

[1] *Ibid.*, I, 5 and 6. [2] *Vinaya*, IV, 107.
[3] McCrindle: *Megasthenes and Arrian*, Frag. 25.

XXXV

COMPARISON WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Comparing the Indian education of this period with that of other countries, it strikes one as possible that there may have been in Kauṭilya's day government schools of the kind there were in Egypt, where instruction was given by one of the higher officials under whom the pupil served a sort of apprenticeship. The Hindu student was not sparingly fed like the Egyptian who had only three rolls of bread and two jugs of beer daily brought from home by his mother. There was some such restriction in the Buddhist monasteries. But the Egyptian precepts, 'share thy bread with others,' and 'do not be greedy to fill thy body,' applied to both Hindu and Buddhist students. The Indian disgust at men proud of their learning, which is reflected in the Buddha's placing spiritual pride in the list of cardinal sins, has its analogue in Egypt. The Indian injunction to weigh one's words in speaking, and the rules of etiquette prescribed for the student remind one of Egyptian advice dating from the days of the empire. 'A man's ruin lies in his tongue.' 'Do not sit down while another stands who is older than thee or who holds a higher office than thine.'[1]

Among the Chaldæans, philosophy was a matter of family tradition, and instruction was given to the youth by the father even from the earliest years. Education was imparted in schools connected with temples. The clay tablets of grammars and lexicons, and epic and lyric poetry were auxiliaries

[1] Erman: *Life in Ancient Egypt.*

to education. There was a library in every city, and a famous one in Sippara, the city of the Sun—perhaps a sort of University town like Sepher in Palestine and Heliopolis in Egypt. Students excelled in History, Geography and Ethnology, in Mineralogy, Botany and Zoology ; but their art, though colossal, is graceless, and their ethics is bound up with fanaticism, incontinence, cruelty and superstition ; contrasting with Indian attention to self-discipline and general neglect of sciences. The synthetic effort of Indian genius stands in contrast to the separatist tendency of the Semites.

In the *Avesta*[1] the master of priestly learning is canonized. The student was to be under a teacher for three years, but could change him after eighteen months and twice again, if necessary.[2] We have seen that the Indian custom revered the Āchārya, and that a change of teacher was usually allowed by society only in certain contingencies. In Persia, as in India, moral and spiritual education was regarded as of the highest value. Xenophon tells us that Persian schoolboys passed their time in learning justice. Cyrus was educated in ' righteousness and truthfulness ' (*Dharma* and *Satya*). The Persian child was under the women till five years of age, under the father from five to seven, and at school after seven.[3] The completion of study was apparently at different ages, at sixteen or seventeen, according to Xenophon's, twenty in Herodotus', and twenty-four

[1] *Yasht*, XIII, 105.

[2] *Ibid.*, III, [illegible]5, in *S.B E.*, IV, 311, 315.

[3] Among the Parsis the parents were responsible for the acts of their children up to seven years, and had half the responsibility from seven to ten.

in Strabo's accounts. We know that in India the ages of home-training and school-going were the same, and that the Sūtras prescribe different durations of study, in accordance with the mental acumen and predisposition of the child. Alcibiades says that Persian princes were given over to Royal tutors only at fifteen, whereas Kauṭilya would allow it, as we have seen, at a much earlier age. In Persia there was a differentiation of curricula and methods in the case of priests and princes. If Kauṭilya's scheme be regarded as a practically existent one, we have even more of such differentiation and specialization in India.

The Arabs valued knowledge on account of its practical bearing on the affairs of life, and not from any scientific interest. As to knowledge of philosophy, God did not endow them with much of it, or make their nature suitable for taking any trouble about it. 'For the last time in Arab history Al Ghazzali avails himself of the right of free speculation. Like the despairing critic he leaps with suicidal intent into the All-God in order to kill all artificial reflection.'

To compare Greek with Indian education. Aristotle reflects the Indian sentiment in favour of the home-education of children, whereas Plato would send them to the public infant schools or to temples. Children were to be given a milk-diet, but there was no objection to consigning the new-born to the 'mean dwelling of a hireling nurse.' Roman sentiment and practice were more like the Indian in this respect, as they disallowed wet-nursing. The Greeks

held that plenty of movement was essential, but exposure of the babe to cold was to be guarded against; this caution was not so necessary in the warm climate of India. Education of the child in Greece began at seven, in India at five, apparently owing to climatic considerations. Aristotle is puritanical like the Indian sages, and finds fault with Plato for allowing the orgiastic Phrygian mode of music in education.

As regards educational ideals, Plato is at one with the Indian in holding that education in virtue alone is worthy of the name. His curricula of studies comprised music and gymnastics till twenty; arithmetic, geometry and astronomy from twenty to thirty; finally, the pursuit of 'beauty' through 'musical' studies, including *belles-lettres;* and of truth through the 'scientific' subjects. The all-absorbing aim is the 'good'—'that supreme source of light, of which everything good, everything true and everything beautiful in the world is but the reflection.' 'That other sort of training which aims at the acquisition of wealth, or bodily strength or mere cleverness apart from intelligence and justice, is mean and illiberal, and is not worthy to be called education at all.'[1] The most important part of education is right training in the nursery.[2] Education aims at the 'beauty of the inward soul' so that 'the outward and inward man be one';[3] at wisdom backed by courage, controlling the passions and accepting the reign of justice. Here we see an approach to the Indian ideal, as also in the greater

[1] *Republic*, Jowett's Trans., v, 22.

[2] *Ibid.*, v, 21.

[3] *Phaedrus*, I, 489.

importance attached to conduct than to learning. 'Entire ignorance is not so terrible or extreme an evil, and is far from being the greatest of all; too much cleverness and too much learning, accompanied by an ill-bringing up, are more fatal.'[1] Plato attached great importance to story-telling in education, in order to stimulate the child's fancy, which was to roam free along sun-kissed highways and shadowy glens, as in India, but he sounded a note of caution, the lack of which was a great defect here. The child was always to be reminded that it was a world of make-believe, not of fact. In some of his passages Plato seems to have struck even the highest note we hear in India's education: 'There are certain professors of learning who say that they can put knowledge into the soul like sight into blind eyes; whereas, in fact, the capacity exists in the soul already, the 'organ of learning,' as the eye is of sight; and the art of education is the turning of this from darkness to light.'[2]

In Assyria temples were centres of educational activity till the sixth century B.C., as they came to be in South India in later times. The priestly orders were conservers of learning, as in India, and special attention was paid to their education.

[1] *Laws*, V, 202.

[2] *Republic*, Jowett's Trans., VII, 5, 18. Diodorus Siculus complained that among the Greeks, people took up the study of philosophy late and unprepared, pursued it awhile, and then gave it up, drawn away by material interests. (*Bib. His.*, book 2, sec. 29).

Home-education at Rome is deprecated by Quintilian (A.D. 68). Rhetoric, the power of saying, took the place of philosophy, the power of thinking. School-sessions extended from dawn to sun-set. Schools were private enterprises, and the profession of teacher was despised, taken to by freedmen and slaves, and degraded by payment.

The curricula included arithmetic, astronomy, religion, legend and writing. But commerce, law and banking were popular subjects.

In China in the sixth century B.C. Confucius led a reform in education, but its aim was not religious and spiritual as in India, but moral and political—to turn out a prince who would rule justly and a people who would live righteously and obey the laws. His method was merely memorizing and did not develop the thinking power.

CHAPTER IV

BUDDHIST AND HINDU EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

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I

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

THE earliest age at which education might begin was a moot question. We have seen that works on astrology permit education to begin as early as the third year but this was considered too early by writers on medicine. At least in the case of precocious children, there was introduction to letters at the age of three, and initiation to spiritual knowledge at five. Kāḷidāsa says of Raghu that when the tonsure was over, he was put to letters along with the children of ministers who were of the same age. They began with the form of letters (lipi) and entered the broad expanse of literature, 'as one enters the ocean along with the river-mouths.'[1] This was certainly an exceptional case, but the poet would not have mentioned the fact of the ministers' children being likewise fit for school, if the opinion of the time had looked at such juvenile training as incredible or impossible. The usual age was six, as we learn from I-tsing. Yuan Chwang informs us that boys passed to the study of arts and sciences at seven years of age.

[1] Kāḷidāsa : *Raghuvaṃśa*, III.

Chinese travellers furnish us with some idea of the curricula of school-studies. Yuan Chwang says that children began by learning the alphabet, and the *Siddhānta* or the *Siddhirastu*, a primer of twelve chapters. The first lesson in writing delineated in sculpture is at Peshawar. The writing board shows a few Kharoshṭi characters, which the infant Buddha is supposed to have written.[1] Then began the study of the five subjects—grammar, arts and crafts, medicine, logic and philosophy. This was the general scheme of studies for laymen of all sects. I-tsing gives more details: 'Children learn the forty-nine letters and the ten-thousand compound letters when six years old, and generally finish them in half a year. This corresponds to about three hundred verses, each śloka being of thirty-two syllables. It was originally taught by Maheśvara.

'At eight years children begin to learn the grammar of Pāṇini, and finish it in eight months. It consists of a thousand ślokas, known as Sūtras; then follow the list of roots (dhātu-pāṭha) and three appendices (khila), consisting again of a thousand ślokas.' Boys began the appendices when ten years old, and finished them in three years. When they reached the age of fifteen, they began to study a commentary on grammar, and spent five years in learning it. The works of grammar were learnt by heart, which meant hard work night and day. So strong was the discipline of the memory that 'such men could commit to memory the contents of two volumes, learning them only once.'

The training up to the age of twenty was usually

[1] Sculpture No. 347. (Spooner's *Hand-Book*, p. 54.)

under the Āchārya or Guru. The student had no easy time of it, as we learn from the Purāṇas. In the *Kuchelopākhyāna*, for instance, we are told in detail of the suffering undergone by Krishṇa and Kuchela when they were fellow-pupils. The Guru's wife had ordered them to procure fuel from the forest, and they were exposed to a severe storm and to showers the whole night. The Guru went in search of them and commended their whole-hearted devotion.[1] The important point to notice is not that boys were inured to hardships in this way, but the mutual relations of teacher and pupil. The most useful lesson learnt by the boys was the formation of habits. Every morning all of them got up early and chanted the Veda in chorus, as readers of the *Raguvamśa*[2] will remember described of Vasishṭha's hermitage. They looked with a fraternal eye not only on the inmates of the Guru's house, including tender-eyed maidens like Śakuntaḷā, but on the plant and the fawn, the tree and the creeper. In the evening they went out to the outskirts of the village and brought back fuel, kuśa grass and roots and fruits.

Yuan Chwang tells us that student-life terminated under the Guru at the age of thirty, when the pupil took up office and rewarded the kindness of his teachers.[3] The latter became a matter of obligation, even if the demand was unreasonably high. This is brought out in Kāḷidāsa's story of Kautsa, the pupil of Varatantu,[4] who had to go to

[1] As the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* has it, *viśuddha bhāvena sarvārthātmārpaṇam gurau.*

[2] Canto I, last stanza.

[3] Watters: *Yuan Chwang*, I, 16.

[4] *Raghuvamśa*, V.

Raghu to find fourteen crores to pay his master for the fourteen branches of learning acquired from him. The Guru would not accept any parting fee at all, and the demand of crores was the result of his anger at the pupil's insistence on adequate payment being made. Though this was, of course, an exceptional instance, Kāḷidāsa had possibly in mind the first difficulty of a student, now a householder, in finding funds with which to reward the Guru.

II

INFLUENCE OF TRAVEL

It was quite usual for students to go far from home in search of higher education. They went to places like Taxila, where there were teachers of the highest grade and a growing atmosphere of culture. But even after residence at one or two such University centres, it was considered that the scholar should travel far and wide in India. In the *Yoga-Vāsishṭha*,[1] for instance, we read that soon after his return from his Guru, Rāma went on his travels to the places of pilgrimage, the holy rivers and the hermitages of sages, the places of resort famous for their beauty or interest. Those who planned the travels located the spots on high eminences or fast by running brooks, whose blue waters cut a stretch of green grass or brown gravel. The eye gazed with relief on the expanse below or the scenery around, suggesting thoughts widening the mental

[1] *Vairāgya Prakarana.*—
Tīrtha puṇyāśramaśreṇīh drashṭumutkanṭhitam manah |
and *Tīrthāni devasadmāni vanyānyāyatanāni cha.* |

horizon and reaching outward to the Infinite. The spots selected for the post-scholastic rounds were not near each other, but as far apart as the confines of India, and with a vast variety of social conditions and environments. The river-banks of the Ganges and the Jumna, the resorts of sages with their inexhaustible stores of beauty and suggestiveness; the Narmadā and the Tungabhadrā, with gurgling flow along stony beds, breathing a weird desert air; the golden Kāverī and the vast Godāvarī scattering plenty over smiling lands; the many-mouthed Indus and its confluent streams, sung by the Vedic bards of old—all these were to be visited by the aspirant after the fruits of culture. And the mountains, too, the Heaven-kissing Himālaya with its eternal springs of snow-fed sacred rivers, the inaccessible forest-retreats of Śrīśailam in the Dekhan, the vestiges of the Gandhamādana in the far south close by Rāma's Bridge, came within the orbit of the scholar-pilgrim's tour in India. The narrow conservatism and petty provincial prejudices attached to local and rural life, were confronted and corrected by commerce with the minds of men of piety and learning in the various regions of the Indian continent.

One effect of the spread of Buddhism was the expansion of this sphere of travel. When the Buddhist missionaries went abroad, they came into contact with new kinds of culture, and they were influenced by these on their return home. The Buddhist art of Gandhāra is a good instance in point. Even Brāhmans copied the example.[1] Professor Bury has shown that there

[1] It was Alexandrian science they went to learn (Kennedy in *J.R.A.S.*, 1917). Indian legends reached Europe through Syria.

were Brāhmans at Alexandria during the period of the later Roman Empire. The Hindu migrations to Burma, Indo-China and Java are now placed beyond the shadow of a doubt. A few Brāhmans went even to Europe, and were, according to Tacitus, stranded on the shores of Germany.

Yuan Chwang was struck with the knowledge gained by some of the wandering teachers of India as the result of travel without restriction. The wandering Bhikkhus and Sādhus, says he, accumulated a treasure of knowledge by constant travel, and gladly imparted it to others. They held it an honour to know the truth, and no disgrace to be destitute.[1] To some extent, travel was helped by religious injunctions. The Sādhus were forbidden to be in the same place for more than three nights. The Buddha advised his monks to change their places of stay constantly, so that the same village or locality might not feel the economic pinch of hospitability.

III

DISCIPLINE

As regards discipline, we find further changes in the period. Nārada says[2] that aspirants after knowledge, whether spiritual or secular, were bound to render obedience, and that the obedience was to be extended even to the teacher's wife and son. Yājñavalkya denies to the pupil the benefit of any gain he might make during the period of his apprenticeship. The pupil had the single duty of dedicating

[1] Watters: *Yuan Chwang*, I, 162. [2] *Nārada*, V, 8.

himself to the teacher's service 'by every exertion of mind and speech, body and action.'

The injunction in the Smriti texts restricting corporal punishment is continued in later times. In no case was the teacher to use any instrument other than a rope or a flimsy piece of bamboo or administer the punishment on a 'noble part of the body.' If he did, the pupil could complain to the State. The teacher also could complain to the secular authorities if he found the disciplinary measures at his command powerless to restrain a pupil who had violated his duty. If the pupil went too far and struck the teacher, in any circumstances, he was liable to punishment in the same manner as the highest class of criminals.[1] And he who deserted a teacher who had duly discharged his duty and was in no way culpable, was to be compelled to reside with him and was liable to stripes and confinement.[2]

IV

DIETETICS

By far the most interesting disciplinary rules of the period are those connected with food. The *Bhagavat Gītā*[3] was content with laying down the characteristics of various classified foodstuffs. Some were likely to stir up the instinct of ceaseless activity and pursuit of carnal pleasures (rajas); and some induced sleep, inertia and indolence (tamas). Aspirants after know-

[1] Cp. *Yājñavalkya*, II, 184.

[2] *Nārada*, v, 19. *Atītya bandhūn avalanghya mitrāṇi Āchāryam āgacchati śishyadoshah* in Bhāsa; *Pāñcharātra*, I, 18. (Droṇavākya).

[3] The classification is *sātvika*, *rājasika* and *tāmasika*.

ledge were to give up these, and take to food that was 'juicy, substantial, congenial and comforting' (satva). The Purāṇas take up the subject, and enumerate numerous classes of food-stuffs and articles of food, many of which are forbidden on account of physiological and psychological effects and some on account of their origin and appearance, suggestive of unhealthy ideas.

In the Buddhist texts also we have strict injunctions in matters pertaining to food. It is stated in one passage of the *Divyāvadāna* that it was hopeless to curb the animal nature in man without severe restrictions as to diet.[1] 'If the Sākyas, gluttonizing on rich food—rice, ghee, curds and meat—could attain to control of the senses, the mighty Vindhya mountain could float on the deep, quite as easily, believe me.' The strict objection to meat is not from the Buddha, but was apparently a device to counteract the influence of Jainism, with which the Buddhists were always at war during this period, and which was bitterly hated by Aśvaghosha,[2] for example, much more bitterly than Brāhmanism. Some articles of diet were allowed only at certain times, but a concession had to be made as regards untimely food and drink.[3] We are told that ghee, molasses and sugar belonged to this category of things which could be taken in untimely hours. The brethren felt the restrictions hard, and we have instances of disciples

[1] *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 420 and 520.
Bhuktvānnam saghṛtam prabhūtapiśitam dadhyuttamālankṛtam. |
Śākyeshu indriyanigraho yadi bhavet Vindhyah plavet sāgare. ||

[2] Story 31.

[3] *Akālakhādanīya* and *akālapānaka*.

flinging back the bowl and requesting the Buddhist teacher to take back his benediction and his preaching.[1]

Fa-Hien tells us that in Muttra in Madhyadeśa no one took liquor or ate garlic or onions (excepting Chaṇḍāḷas) and that in butchers' shops in markets there was no sale of live-cattle.[2] Yuan Chwang adds that those that ate onion or garlic were ostracized. Brinjals were not to be eaten, as they reminded one of eggs, and had matter prejudicial to eyesight, while onion and garlic were banned because of their stench. Even on non-vegetarians there were restrictions. Flesh of oxen, asses, elephants, horses, monkeys, etc., was forbidden, and those who ate such food became untouchables.[3] The primary purpose of these injunctions was religious; they aimed at creating the spotless mind which would work up flashes of intuition into an eternal sunshine.

Fasting was a cure for diseases.[4] 'When the stomach is empty, violent fever abates.' Some fasted seven days, some a fortnight, and some, especially in the Lāṭa (Gujarat) country, for a month. Modern science has come to realize the virtue of a periodical fast for the sake of keeping the body fit, as well as of a condition of partial fast for brain-work. Sir Arthur Keith[5] tells us that 'the brain requires less

[1] P. 520. *Idam cha te pātram idam cha chīvaram imām cha śikshām svayameva dhāraya.*

[2] *Fa-Hien*, Chap. XVI. [3] *Yuan Chwang*, p. 178.

[4] They effect cures rather by regulating the diet than by the use of medicines, observes Megasthenes. (Fragment 41).

[5] *Inaugural Address* at the Medical Session of the King's College, Cambridge, for the year 1925.

food to maintain it than the muscles,' and that there is very often 'a curious warfare between the stomach and the brain.' The Indian view was that fasting was favourable to mental luminosity, and that it was an essential condition of forms of mental activity which are of an introspective nature. The influence of social custom and domestic discipline was pressed into service for implanting habits of occasional fast and partial privation.

Onions were forbidden 'because they caused pain at a fast, injured the belly, spoiled the eye-sight, and weakened the body.' One who used them as medicine in illness was to wash and bathe for seven days.[1] Modern medicine has not addressed itself yet to the question of the chemical composition and relation to the physiological system of the various articles of food prevailing or possible. No possible system of physical education for the young can be efficient until the food habits of boys and girls are examined, and the growing constitution ensured the required quantity and quality of real food and the requisite amount of vitamin. No system of mental and moral education can be complete which ignores the effect of food-stuffs on the nervous system and on social temperament.

V

CURRICULA

The curricula of studies revealed in the *Śukranītisāra* shows a differentiation of the sciences and

[1] *I-tsing* (Takakusu's Ed.), pp. 133 and 138. *Cf. Chullavagga*, II, 34.

arts. The distinction between *vidyās* and *kalās* is explained by the statement that the former are for study, the latter for action. Under Vidyās are included the four Vedas, the four Upavedas described as Āyurveda, Dhanurveda, Gandharvaveda and the Tantras; the six Vedāṅgas; Ītihāsas, Purāṇas, Smritis, the Nāstika doctrines, Arthaśāstra, Kāma-śāstra, Śilpiśāstra, Alankāra, Kāvya, Deśabhāshā, Āvasasokti, the Yavana philosophy, and the manners and customs of countries and nations.[1] It is important to note that the different branches of learning do not have the same connotations as they had in the previous epoch, and are applied to somewhat different uses. Tantras take the place of Vedic architecture, but they are explained as describing 'the six uses of the various Mantras, together with the various rites and ceremonies involved. Atharva-aṅgirasas constitute the Veda in which

[1] The list of *vidyās* is differently given by different authorities, and this suggests a regular evolution through the ages in various localities. The classical list is given in an old verse of the 14 Vidyās.

Angāni Vedāśchatvāro Mīmāmsā Nyāyavistarah |
Dharmaśāstram Purāṇam cha Vidyāhyetāśchaturdaśa. ||

The later addition of four is mentioned thus:

Āyurvedo Dhanurvedo Gandharvaścheti te trayah |
Arthaśāstram chaturtham cha Vidyāhyashṭādaśaivatāh. ||

The Purāṇas have the full 18, but the Vishṇu and Vāyu Purāṇas have image-making and sculpture (*Sthapatyopaveda*) in place of Arthaśāstra mentioned above. Later Purāṇas, e.g. *Padma Purāṇa* (Uttarakāṇḍa, chap. 11) add the Kalās, Kāvya, Bhūtatantra, Bālatantra and Bhairavatantra. New branches of learning like the Sānkhya, Yoga, Vedānta, Rhetoric, Lexicology, Buddhist and Jaina philosophy were included under Kalās. But even after all this elaboration the classical orthodox school considered the old 14 as a comprehensive scheme of education. *Vide.*, for instance, Kāḷidāsa: *Raghuvamśa*, sarga 5. Before the ninth century, Vārtā, Kāmasūtram, Śilpiśāstram, and Daṇḍanīti were included, and the number raised to 18. (Rājaśekhara: *Kāvyamīmāmsā*, chap. 2).

there is 'the relation between the adored and the adorer.' Of this Veda the Tantras are an Upaveda. Āyurveda includes two departments—Ākūti (Anatomy and Physiology) and Bhedi (Therapeutics and medicine). Śikshā included Phonology, and pronunciation of letters according to svara (voice), kāla (Time), sthāna (Vocal position), prayatna (Exercise of the muscles involved), anupradāna and savana (Origins). Jyotisha Vedāṅga is described as the science which measures time by studying the movements of the planets and the stars, in the Samhitās, Hora Śāstras, and Gaṇitas (Astronomy, Astrology, and calculation). The Mīmāmsā or Nyāya is defined as the science by which the expressions of the Vedas are expounded and interpreted according to the ceremonies in the Brāhmaṇas. Itihāsa is that which 'narrates past events in and through the medium of the deeds of kings.' It is here noteworthy that the achievements of the people were regarded as a fitter object of preservation for posterity than the deeds of kings and matters of chronology and chronicle. Smriti was likewise intended to describe the social, economic, and moral life. Nāstika theory was that which advocated the predominence of reason, the origin of all things from Nature, not from God, and the non-reliability of revelation. Arthaśāstra dealt with the actions and administrations of kings in accordance with the dictates of Śruti and Smriti, as well as with the means of obtaining livelihood in a proper manner. Thus it was both politics and economics. Kāmaśāstra had come to acquire its modern sense of the knowledge of men and women, and of their social and sexual relationships. Daiśikī

was the vernacular, the understanding of which entailed no trouble, and Deśīdharma was the body of local customs and usages. Yavana philosophy recognized God as the Creator of the Universe and considered virtue and vice as having a moral and not a religious basis.[1]

VI

POETRY AND THE DRAMA

The most popular form of literature was the Kāvya (Poetry) whether in prose or in verse. The chief quality expected in the Kāvya was Rasa (the sentiment)—whether Śriṅgāra, Karuṇā, Hāsya (love, tenderness, mirth); Raudra, Vīra, Adbhuta (Anger, Heroism, Wonder); or Bībhatsa (Terror). Next, a Kāvya was full of figures of Rhetoric (Alaṅkāra) and induced pleasure (Chamatkāra-bīja). It was a requisite condition of the true Kāvya that it should be free from the faults of vulgarism, vagueness or obscurity.

Drama was the most interesting development of the Kāvya in the early centuries after Christ. It was in fashion on account of its power to please men and women, however varied their tastes and temperaments.[2] Among the Turfan MSS. Lüders discovered fragments of two Indian dramas which show that the

[1] *Śukranītisāra* (Oppert's Ed.), IV. 3. Hindu astronomers served the Chinese government on the astronomical board even as Presidents (after the seventh century). A chemical apparatus for oxidising and colouring mercury is mentioned in the *Rasārṇava*.

Dṛkgaṇitaikya is to be noted in astronomy (computation and verification).

[2] *Nāṭyam bhinnarucheh janasya bahudhāpyekam samārādhanam* in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act I.

Drama had attained its finished form with its divisions into acts, commingling of prose and verse, of Sanskrit and Prākrit as well as the characters like the buffoon (Vidūshaka). They belong to the age of Kanishka, and the author of one of these dramas is Aśvaghosha. That the Drama was an allegory and a vehicle of high-class instruction is clear from the allegorical figures of wisdom, endurance and fame (*Buddhi*, *Dhṛti* and *Kīrti*). In the *Avadāna*[1] it is related how actors performed a Buddha Nāṭaka before a king, in which the director (Nāṭaka-Āchārya) appeared in the costume of the Buddha. It is to be noted that the dramatic performances in this period were tolerated only as an instrument of education, as we have passages forbidding to monks entertainments like singing, dancing, recitations, animal fights, and other shows.[2] The Turfan texts have the old legends of the *Mahābhārata* related by 'Bimbasena' (Bhīmasena) of his fight with Hiḍimba, and of the selection of bridegrooms by Indian princesses (Svayamvara). We have also the enumeration of 'the sins committed by one against one's own brother in religion' as well as 'the sins shared in Vihāras dedicated to Śākya Muni.'[3]

VII

FINE ARTS

There were seven arts (Kalās) comprised in the Gandharva Veda—Nartana (play-acting), which emerged from primitive dancing, music, decoration, mimicry, and antics, magical tricks in the

[1] *Avadāna*, No 75. [2] *Chuḷḷavagga*, I, 13, 12, for instance.
[3] Lüders (Nariman's Tr.), p. 236.

drawing-room, and the æsthetic furnishing of bed-rooms, etc. Ten Kalās were comprised in the Āyurveda—distillation from flowers, Cookery, Gardening, Metallurgy, Medicine and Pharmacy, 'operations and compounding drugs, etc.' Dhanurveda had five arts attached to it, dealing mostly with military tactics and strategy. The religious arts were those connected with seats and postures at devotion and meditation.

The education of a prince, according to Aśvaghosha, comprised a number of subjects differing from the sixty-four Kalās which he mentions in another connection. 'The Veda, archery, medicine, sacrifices, astronomy, grammar, the origin of writing, the performance of sacrifices, eloquence, rhetoric, the art of love, interest, heredity and eugenics, the ten names, computation, chess, dice, the study of origins, music and song, the art of playing on the conch, dancing and laughter, conjuring tricks, education, the making of garlands of flowers, massage, the examination of precious stones and valuable materials for clothing, silk, sealing, weaving, wax-work, strategy, sewing, sculpture, painting, literature, arrangement of garlands, interpretation of dreams, and of the flight of birds, casting horoscopes of boys and girls, the training of elephants, the art of playing on the tambourine, the rules of battle array, the domesticating of horses, the carrying of the lance, jumping, running, and fording a river.'[1]

[1] This list of Aśvaghosha's agrees in the main with what we find in the *Lalitavistara*, and compares well with what we have seen described in the Jaina texts as the curricula of studies of Mahāvīra. Śūdraka was a scholar in Rig-Veda, Sāma-Veda, Mathematics, the arts regarding courtezans, and the science of elephants. (*Mṛchhakaṭikā*).

Dancing and music were not held in high repute. Baudhāyana lays down that it was not a high-class crime to concert with the wives of dancers, as the husbands were willing procurers. Yuan Chwang says that the quarters of the public performers were outside the city and in the neighbourhood of butchers, scavengers, etc.[1] More than one Indian prince was anxious to use music and the dance to subserve political purposes. Bhāskara Kumāra Rāja of Assam asked Yuan Chwang about the music of Chin Wang's victory celebrated with song and dance.[2] King Śīlāditya had the story of Jīmūtavāhana versified and set to music and dancing, as well as Chandradāsa's *Viśwantara* and Aśvaghosha's *Buddhacharita*.[3] Parts of India specialized in music and the arts, Kośāmbi, for instance.[4]

VIII

UTILITARIAN ARTS

The industrial and utilitarian arts were apparently outside the curricula of the school and the university. Polishing vessels, building and construction, drawing, dyeing, and the mechanical arts such as extinguishing huge fires, were most in requisition, since people used coloured clothes and lived in wooden houses. The construction of ships and boats had become dignified into an art, on account of the enormous expansion of the foreign trade of India. Spinning, weaving,

[1] Watters: *Yuan Chwang*, I, 147. Comparison with the early Jātaka texts shows how the position of these classes had gradually declined in the soil, in spite of the attempts, as under Aś ka, to press these arts into the service of religion.

[2] Watters. *Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 348.

[3] I-tsing, p. 165.

[4] Watters: *Ibid.* I, p. 366.

rope-making and leather manufacture were some of the oldest arts preserved. So was the extraction and preparation of oils from seeds and fats, first noticed by foreign travellers like Ktesias. Glass work and enamelling were reinforced by lessons learnt from foreigners. Work in iron foundries, known in India since the days of Herodotus, is now specialized as an art. The growing wealth of India accounts for the specialized skill in appraising stones and gems, and superior workmanship in relation to these. The peculiar preparation of betel was an Indian art, an offshoot of the bedroom-arts of pleasing and decoration. Indians raised hospitality and the entertainment of guests also to the dignity of a fine art in this period. Indian æsthetics was so far advanced that 'knowledge of any work used in such a way as to please somebody was regarded as an art.'[1] A good instance with which we are now acquainted is the art of thieving (Chora Śāstra), of which Mūladeva of the first century before Christ was the first founder, and the author of the *Mṛchhakaṭikā*, the first exponent before the public. The *Śukranīti* cynically remarks that quickness in receiving and delay in giving are the two qualities of all students of art.[2]

IX

SPECIALIZATION IN EDUCATION

Though the curricula were inclusive, there was specialization of arts and sciences, as well as of crafts in various localities. The specialization obtained not

[1] *Śukranīti*, IV, 3, 189, 199, 200. [2] *Ibid.*

only in branches of learning but in literary form and style. Bāṇa and Daṇḍin detail the provincial peculiarities. The Northern style was remarkable for its *ślesha*, puns on words and expressions; the Western considered brevity the soul of wit; that of the South aimed at idealization; and the Bengali was noted for vociferous and ornate display.[1] We may perhaps account for these distinctive marks of style by racial considerations and contact with foreigners. The men of Western India had in their hands the vast foreign trade, and merchants are not men of many words. The tendency to pun (ślesha) is somewhat in evidence in Kāḷidāsa and Bhāravi and appears overdone in Bāṇa, who lived in Harsha's court. Contact with the Greeks in Hindustan may have drawn attention to word-forms and varieties of meaning. The rice diet of the Southerners may have tended to idealism and imaginativeness, of which the fruits were soon to be reaped in the southern philosophical systems of the Vedānta. The wordy sword-play of the Bengalis was possibly due to the relative immunity of Bengal from foreign invasion and influence, and from absorbing commercial and other pursuits.

Āndhra inscriptions[2] reveal so many guilds of arts and crafts that one is inclined to discover in this period a great advance in industrial education. We have, among others, Vaṇijaka (merchant), Kamāra (blacksmith), Lohavaṇijiya (metal-dealer), Veja

[1] Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, I, I.
Śleshaprāyamudīchyeshu pratīchyeshvarthamātrakam |
Utprekshā dākshiṇātyeshu gauḍeshvaksharaḍambaraḥ. ||

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. x.

(physician), Sathavaho (trader), and Vaddhaki (carpenter). There are special terms for Overseers (Navakamika and Uparakhita). These professions had become so clearly defined and so prosperous that the inscribers referred to themselves by the specialized terms mentioned above—the three terms for merchants, for example. But there is no reference anywhere to any sort of organization of industrial education. Each art or craft had its own rules of apprenticeship and there was no central or consolidated agency other than the guild. The architects themselves felt their excellence in boring chambers in the hard rock. No certificate of self-glorification has yet appeared in Mahābalipuram, but at Kārḷi we have the builder of a cave-dwelling certifying that it was the best in Jambudvīpa.

Stanzas in Bhartṛhari's *Nītiśataka*[1] show that there was no tendency to over-specialization, and that the cultured man of the period held a high status and comfortable position in society. Education, properly speaking, included sāhitya, saṅgīta and kalā (letters, music, arts and æsthetics), and any one defective in these particulars was a veritable beast misborn as a man. Culture imbued a man with self-confidence and a winning personality. It gave reserve of power and resources, joy and happiness in the exercise of these, and fame and glory in the locality where he lived ; and ensured him friendship and guidance when abroad.[2] Indeed, a deity of

[1] *Sāhityasan. 'takalāvihīnah sākshāt paśuh puchchavishāṇahīnah* |
Triṇena kh. lanniva jīvamānah tadbhāgadheyam paramam paśūnām. ||

[2] Bhartrhari, *Nītiśataka* :

Vidyā bhogakarī yaśassukhakarī vidyā gurūṇām guruh |
Vidyā rājasu pūjitā na tu dhanam |

deities was *Vidyā*. That, not material wealth, could command respect from kings; a person devoid of *vidyā* was a brute, a dumb creation. Royalty respected men of real worth, as we know from Megasthenes and Fa-Hien. Bhartṛhari explains that real worth in man was much better than wealth. '*Vidyā's* worth is wealth undecaying and inexhaustible; nay, increasing with every gift,' for, is not knowledge in the teacher clarified and consummated by every act of instruction?

X

FEATURES OF EDUCATION

The one great feature of culture in this period was its cosmopolitan character. Not only were there different schools of philosophy and religion, but there were men of one religion expounding the texts of another. A Brāhman Rādhāsvāmin was professor of Mahāyāna Buddhism at Pāṭaliputra in Fa-Hien's time, and there was another Brāhman teacher held in high esteem in the Buddhist monastery. At the procession the Brāhmans came and invited the Buddhists to enter the city. So also, at the Royal lodge of Kanouj, described by Yuan Chwang, there were a thousand Buddhists and half a thousand Brāhmans fed daily, and the distribution of largesses

Kimapi śam pushṇāti yatsarvadā |
Arthibhyah pratipādyamānamaniśam prāpnoti vriddhim parām |
Vidyākhyamantardhanam yeshām . . . kastaissaha spardhate. ||

Similarly the high place given to culture and education in Mahāyāna Buddhism will be clear from the description of *Prajñāpāramitā*, the Buddhist Sarasvatī.

at Prayāga was not confined to Buddhists or Brāhmans, but extended to the learned of all religions. Fa-Hien tells us that the Brāhman ascetic schools provided food and lodging for travellers and Bhikkhus, and that in Magadha there were hospitals and choultries built by Vaiśyas and open to the Buddhists also. Bhadraruchi, a consummate logician of Malva, was well-versed in the non-Buddhist sūtras too.

The main feature of this scheme is its comprehensiveness. The curricula betray no sectarian zeal, or exclusion of things alien or new. Culture must be broad-based and many-sided, and seclusion and exclusiveness lead to its extinction. Kāḷidāsa[1] sounds a note of warning when he says that things old are not always good, nor things new rejectable for that reason alone. The wise people of a country, the good and the learned, were the touch-stones of true worth. None but a fool was carried away by the inconsiderate opinions of others. The Hindu and Buddhist schools were agreed on this principle. They freely encouraged new productions and openly borrowed from other countries.[2] It is thus that we have a picture of a Chinese Doctor of Law expounding Yavana philosophy included in the Indian scheme of studies. It is possible that the Greeks influenced our literature and the Drama. It is

[1] *Mālavikāgnimitra*, I. *Purāṇamityēva na sādhu sarvam . . . mūḍhah parapratyayanēyabuddhih.*

[2] Philostratos in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, mentions the high esteem in wi ch Greek literature was held by the Brāhmans.

Cp. Mlecc ā hi Yavanāsteshu samyak śāstram idam sthitam |
Rishivat tepi pūjyante kim punar daivavit dvijah. ||

(Garga in Kern: Preface, p. 35).

probable that they influenced our plastic and pictorial arts. It is certain that they had something substantial to give in astronomy and science. But in every case the Indian borrowing was so nicely adapted to Indian conditions and interwoven with things Indian, that there is an originality about the blending that throws the borrowing into the shade.

XI

INFLUENCE OF HINDU ON BUDDHIST SYSTEM

It is interesting to observe the successive stages by which Buddhist literature was growing in this period. The fact that its earliest language must have been Māgadhī and that Pāḷi became its vehicle for the canon in the existing form, doubtless presupposes centuries of cultural growth, in the various centres and monasteries, and unification by the wandering teachers and anchorites. The most ancient classification reflected in the later texts was Sūtra, Geya, Vyākaraṇa, Gāthā, Udāna, Ityukta, Jātaka, Adbhuta, Dharma and Vaipulya. Sanskrit literature on Buddhism deals with these, and with the Nidāna, Avadāna and Upadeśa. Even the *Divyāvadāna* is compiled from various sources.[1]

Buddhist Sanskrit tends to steer clear of the Pāṇinian rules, and makes an approach to the spoken idiom. Two or three centuries after the Gupta era Chandragomin's Sanskrit grammar marked the capitulation of Buddhism to Brāhmaṇic purism.

[1] Chap. 1, 20, *Evam mayā śrutam* and *Esha ēva grandho vistareṇa kartavyah*, p. 285.

It was not that Sanskrit had altogether ceased to be the vernacular among the cultured people.[1] Ever since Pāṇini it was the standard language; but Buddhist propaganda since Aśoka's time had drawn emphatic attention to the use of Prākrit. Centuries of Buddhist teaching had reared a community of pandits in the Buddhist fold; hence the return to classical Sanskrit for exposition of doctrines and for dialectical purposes.

The Buddhist system of education shows an imitation of the earlier Hindu institutions. We learn from Yuan Chwang, as well as from I-tsing, that the winter retreat or varsha was strictly observed, but the period varied from three to four months.[2] We are reminded of the *anadhyayana* days, when Yuan Chwang tells us that the eighth, fourteenth, and fifteenth of each fortnight were fast-days, six days in each month when the Sūtras forbid Vedic study and recitation.[3] We are again reminded of the four-monthly ceremonies (chāturmāsya), where he describes the first, fifth, and ninth months of the year as 'the three long fasts.' But there was an adaptation of the institution borrowed to suit local conditions in every case. For instance, the winter retreat was observed by the Buddhists of Tokhara 'during the heavy rains from the 15th of the 12th month to the 15th of the third month, whereas in India the rainy season was in summer. The Buddhists of Tokhara departed, therefore, from the letter,

[1] This is shown by the Ghoṣūṇḍī inscription of the third century B.C., which is the earliest clear instance of the use of Sanskrit in Epigraphy.

[2] Watters: *Yuan Chwang*, I, 145.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 302. Compare Aśoka's *Pillar*, No.

but conformed to the spirit of the regulations.'[1] Again, the Buddhist *varsha* was shorter than the Hindu. It extended from the first day of Śrāvaṇa to the last day of Āśvayuja. In I-tsing's time it was four months, from mid-June to mid-October.[2]

We observe the same principle in the details of the daily life noticed by I-tsing. 'The Buddha ruled that a Priest should never wear sandals before teachers or images, and must have the right shoulder bare, and the left covered with his cloak, wearing no cap.' One is reminded of the *Yajñopavīta*. 'It is mean not to use a tooth-wood, not to wash after evacuation, and not to distinguish between clean and unclean wood.' 'After eating one must wash one's hands and rinse the mouth.' 'What remains after eating must not be left over till the next morning.' We have minute direction in regard to these matters in the Dharma and Gṛhya texts. 'Let there be no taint of food in the teeth or grease in the tongue after washing.' Eating utensils must be of copper, wooden or earthen ones to be used only once. After meals and *pan* the guests were to repeat stanzas in praise of gifts to please the host.[3]

The influence of the Purāṇas is clearly discernible in the Mahāyāna texts. The immoderateness of language, the fanciful chronology, the laudation of the text itself, are clear in the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*. The stories of Avalokiteśvara[4] are parallel to those in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas. The de-

[1] *Ibid.*, I, 105. *Ibid.*, chap. 2.

[2] Takakusu's Tr., chap. I.

[3] *I-tsing*, chap. II, 4, 5 and 9. The stanzas are styled *dāna gāthās* in chap. 9.

[4] *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, chap. 24.

scription of the land of bliss in the *Sukhāvatī Vyūha* and of the saviours Amitābha and Mañjuśrī, and the visit of the Buddha to Rāvaṇa in Laṅka, described in the *Laṅkāvatāra*, are reminiscent of Hindu influences. The prophetic style of the Purāṇas in chapters on the future kings is found point by point here:[1] 'A hundred years after my Nirvāṇa, will live Vyāsa, the composer of the *Mahābhārata*.' 'Then will arise the Pāṇḍavas, Kauravas, Nandas and Mauryas. The Nandas, Mauryas, Guptas and Mlecchas, the most degraded of princes, will be the rulers. The domination of the barbarians will be succeeded by an upheaval which in its turn will herald the Kali Yuga.'

XII

HINDU AND BUDDHIST SYSTEMS COMPARED

A few points of contrast are characteristic. The Buddhist guest began to eat as soon as he was served, without waiting till others of the party had been served. *Kulapati*, an honorific term among the Hindus denoting a Master with thousands of pupils, became a word of scorn among monastic Buddhists. Everything in the monastery was settled democratically. Any priest acting of his own accord was nicknamed Kulapati and expelled. Brahmachārin denoted a student of secular literature, ano Māṇava a student of the scriptures who would take the tonsure later on.[2]

[1] *Lankāvatāra*, chap. x.

[2] *I-tsing*, chaps. 10 and 19.

Buddhist methodology in regard to moral instruction becomes clear in the works of the age of Aśvaghosha. In the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* we have first a moral theme propounded, then a story in illustration, and then another moral, if necessary, and lastly the conclusion. We have the play of emotion evoked after, as in the 43rd story, and dramatic effect aimed at, as there and in the 20th.[1]

The Avadāna stories are arranged after a definite plan. They begin and end in quite similar ways, and the moral is invariably pointed out. The characteristic smile of the Buddha[2] is a noticeable phenomenon, and from his smiles issue rays of blue, yellow, red and white. There is much in the stories and parables that is distinctly edifying.

So also in the relations of the teacher and the pupil. There was service done to the teacher, such as folding his clothes and sweeping his quarters, before taking instruction every morning. The teacher nursed his pupil during illness 'as if he were his child,' and always instructed him 'as his eldest son.'[3]

The same principle is reflected in iconography. Both in Hinduism and Buddhism we observe a tendency to the increasing use of symbolism for making teaching concrete to the masses. Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi have the *Abhaya* and *Varada* pose in Mahāyāna Buddhism as in Vaishṇava

[1] Sylvain Levi : *Sūtrālaṅkāra* (Nariman's Tr.), *op. cit.*, pp. 190 and 191.

[2] *Cf.* the smile of Krishṇa in the *Gītā* : *Tamuvācha Hṛishīkeśah prahasanniva* (II, I). *Cp.* also *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Teshāmāvirabhūt Śaurih smayamānamukhāmbujah* (Skanda X).

[3] *I-tsing*, pp. 120 and 121.

images. Buddhist *Nirmāṇakāya* has its counterpart in Hindu *Avatāra*, and the thousand Buddhas in the grottoes of Serindia correspond to the thousand names of Vishṇu and Śiva. Most interesting is the neo-nirvāṇa of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsūtra : Na Buddhah parinirvāti na Dharmah parihīyate.*[1]

The use of humorous stories as an educational agency is in evidence in this period. In the *Pañchatantra*, for instance, the play of humour is in every case mixed up with a moral lesson. So is it also in the Tantra literature, which is three-fold, relating to rituals, ordinances and secret doctrine (*kriyā*, *charyā* and *yoga*), in spite of its erotics and mysticism descending into revolting orgies. It is a matter of common-sense that a work like the *Tathāgataguhyaka* would never have attained to such popularity in Nepal if it had been merely a hotch-potch of magic and mysticism devoid of all sense or rationality. The eating of the flesh of the elephant, the horse and the dog is familiar to us in the language of Tantra symbolism as the curbing of the passions of the gross (*sthūla*) body, the subtle body of the vital energies (*indriyas*) and of the mind, a symbolism which we find in common between the Vedic and the Tantra literature ; and the Chaṇḍāḷa maidens referred to are the senses, which wander in search of objects, and whose distractions compel the Yogi to regard them as 'untouchable.' It is a matter of doctrine that the self is not touched by the working of the senses. The *Bodhicharyā* insists that one must act u) to, not merely read, the scriptures, for

[1] *Cf. Gītā : Dharmasaṃsthāpanārthāya sambhavāmi yuge yuge.* (IV, 8).

'the mere reading of pharmaceutical works will not effect a patient's cure.'[1]

In the early centuries A.D. we have clear evidence of the spread of learning among the masses. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were already popular religious texts, chanted even in rural tracts and informing the minds of rustics and the illiterate. Aśvaghosha mentions a simple headman of an Indian village listening to a recital of the Epics delivered by the Brāhmans. The Brāhmans were still pre-eminently the learned class, preserving the monopoly of grammar and writing, but already 'the other classes also possess the science.' The teaching of the Buddha spread through writing over the world. One is warranted in the assumption that while the Brāhmanical texts were still largely taught orally, the Buddhists took greater advantage of the spread of the art of writing and immortalized the words of the Buddha in the modern Pāḷi texts.[2] The volumes of Buddhist manuscripts Yuan Chwang carried with him testify to the existence of a vast mass of written literature at the time. We have to infer that the centuries between Fa-Hien and Yuan Chwang witnessed the high-water mark in the activity of Indian calligraphists. Fa-Hien bears witness to the existence of popular teachers (Upādhyāya), as distinguished from disciplinists and contemplative philosophers and meditationists.[3]

For the rest, there is hardly any improvement

[1] *Pañchatantra*, I, pp. 166 and 167.
Śāstrāṇyadhītyāpi bhavanti mūrkhāh yastu kriyāvān purushah sa vidvān |
Suchintitam chaushadhamāturāṇām na nāmamātreṇa karotyarogam.||

[2] Sylvain Levi on *Sūtrālankāra* (Nariman's Tr.), p. 206.

[3] Legge: *Fa-Hien's Travels*, p. 58.

in the methods of teaching. Yuan Chwang praises the earnestness and diligence of the teachers—Brāhmaṇa and Buddhist. 'They instruct the inert and sharpen the dull.'[1] Both in Hindu and Buddhistic schools, instruction was oral and text-books were seldom used. Fa-Hien could not find a single copy of the precepts in North India, where teachers trusted entirely to oral tradition. The Gurus were usually Buddhist monks or Brāhmans. But Yuan Chwang assures us that learning was not their monopoly, and that a man could study diligently at home, and be a monk or a layman as he pleased. It is clear that most of the learned books must have been in writing by the seventh century so as to make this home education possible. We learn from Bhava-bhūti that though the same teaching was imparted to all, there were different results, in accordance with the mental disposition of the student.[2]

XIII

THE STATE AND EDUCATION

The relation of the State to education is reflected in various passages. The king of the Dekhan provided guides to escort travellers, and made gifts to the huge rock-cut monastery, which had five storeys and one thousand two hundred rooms.[3] Yuan Chwang describes Śakrāditya and other kings as contributing to the prosperity of Nālandā, erecting buildings and making endowments. I-tsing

[1] Watters: *Yuan Chwang*, I, *op. cit.*

[2] Bhavabhūti: *Uttararāmacharita*,

[3] *Fa-Hien*, chap. 35.

says that famous men were appointed to government offices at the king's court; many learned men received grants of land and a high rank, after which they followed whatever occupation they liked.[1] Monasteries in India had endowments—fields, houses, etc.—out of which food and clothing were provided for the resident priests.[2] There was no restriction imposed on professors or on students, during or after the period of studentship. The State provided facilities for education and helped it with funds, but never interfered with the organization or methods of teaching.[3] When the State did interfere with discipline, it was on the side of leniency and sought to counteract undue severity or rigour.

It is likely that the rule of the Sātavāhanas gave a great impetus to education in handicrafts. Documents referring to general education do not appear in their inscriptions, or even epithets indicative of the kind of culture possessed by men, such as, for instance, are implied in the Pallava copper-plates and the Vijayanagar grants of later times. The term Brahmachāri occurs in its modern sense of bachelor rather than student.[4] It is not surprising that general culture, as distinct from professional and vocational, does not come in for conspicuous mention. The Myakaḍoni inscription of Puḷumāvi shows that the

[1] *I-tsing*, pp. 177 f. [2] *Ibid.*, chap. 37.

[3] We have a contrast here with the contemporary Jewish system, where Joshua's law compelled attendance of children from the age of six, at the communal schools. We have a point of comparison in the exemption of teachers from taxation, as in the *Arthaśāstra*.

[4] *E.g.*, at Pudana. *Vide* Luders' list of Brāhmi Inscriptions, No. 973 (*Ep. Ind.*, v).

kings themselves were heads of a commercial people (*Sāthavāhanānām Rāṇo*), who were engaged in the transport of merchandise. No patron of learning is known among them with the exception of Hāla, who, even if he wrote the *Saptaśatī* of erotic verses, wrote in Prākrit and not in the language of the polished culture of the time. Nor do we find the name of any Sātavāhana king mentioned in the colophon to any Sanskrit work discovered hitherto. It may be inferred that purely literary culture did not receive special patronage at the hands of the Āndhra emperors.

The patrons of general culture in this period were not the Sātavāhanas but the Kshatrapas in the South, as is evident from Rudradāman's inscriptions, the first clear instance of the use of Sanskrit in Indian epigraphy after the Ghośūṇḍī inscription of the third century B.C. And it appears probable that Bhāsa, the illustrious predecessor of Kāḷidāsa, lived in the Kshatrapa court. The epithets of Mahārāja Darśaka of Magadha as given by him,[1] in the *Svapnavāsavadattā*, appear also in Rudradāman's titles. The latter's grandfather, Chashṭana, is styled Bhadramukha, but Rudradāman adds the other epithet *Gurubhirabhyasthanāmā*.

With the advent of the Imperial Guptas we have the period of Sanskrit culture which bloomed in the genius of Kāḷidāsa and Bhāravi. Circumstances seem to point to both these poets being Dākshiṇātyas.

[1] *Gurubhirabhihita nāmadhēyasyāsmākam mahārāja-Darśakasya bhaginī Padmāvatī nāmā.*

Bhāsa: *Svapnavāsavadattā*—

Cf. Gurubhirabhyastanāmnah Rudradāmnah in the Junagadh inscription. In the *Svapnavāsavadattā* we have—*Iyam bhadramukhasya bhaginikā*.

In the *Setubandha Mahākāvya* of Pravarasena we have it stated that the poem was composed by Kāḷidāsa, under the direction of Pravarasena. Bāṇa, with his shrewd literary instinct, speaks of the fame of Pravarasena, and in the very next stanza, of the literary sweetness of Kāḷidāsa.[1] This Pravarasena was apparently the Vākāṭaka prince who was related to Chandragupta II Vikramāditya by marriage. Bhāravi is known from the *Avantisundarīkathā* to have been in the court of the Gaṅga king, Durvinīta, and of the Pallava Siṃhavishṇu. The century that followed with Harsha, Bāṇa and Daṇḍin as literary luminaries, witnessed the high importance attached to a purely literary education. Bāṇa not only shows intimate acquaintance with the South, but was a devotee of Śrīśailam in the Karṇūl district, as may be inferred from the veiled reference to it in the opening stanza of the *Harshacharita*.[2] Daṇḍin was the great-grandson of Bhāravi's friend as we know from the *Avantisundarīkathā*. It is well-known that Vātsyāyana, who refers to the boiling of rice, Diṅṅāga and Nāgārjuna were southerners. To this roll of talent must be added later Bhavabhūti of Berar, and Śaṅkarāchārya of Malabar. Here we have a brilliant, perhaps the most brilliant, contribution of South India to Indian culture.

The educational picture presented by these writers may be taken as representing the times in which they lived. We find that it agrees with that of

[1] *Kīrtih Pravarasenasya prayātā kumudojjvalā.* |
Nirgatāsu na vā kasya Kālidāsasya sūktishu. ||
Bāṇa: *Harshacharita*, 1.

[2] *Ibid., Sakala praṇayimano rathasiddhi Śrīparvato Harshaḥ,*

the earlier period in all the essentials of home education, and of education under a Guru. Kāḷidāsa emphasizes the habit of the student in getting up in the small hours of the morning. Dilīpa was awakened in the morning by the Vedic chant of the young students in his hermitage. Kumudvatī, the Nāga princess, bore a son to Kuśa, 'as delight born unto the mind in the last hours of the night.'[1] The literary education of the period consisted of the fourteen vidyās. Kshatriya youths learnt the art of war either from their parents, as Raghu learnt from his father, Dilīpa, or from teachers of eminence, as Rāma did from Viśvāmitra and the Pāṇḍava brothers from Droṇa.

Intellectual and artistic activity took different turns in different reigns. From the sixth to the eighth century art took the form of poetry and prose in the North, and of architecture, poetics, painting and music in South India. The name of Mahendra Varma Pallava is the greatest in the seventh century. Pāla kings of the ninth century acquired fame as the patrons of Dhīmān and Vitapāla, our world-famous sculptors, painters and casters of bronze; and the Rāshtrakūṭas as patrons of chemistry and military science associated with Nāgārjuna.[2] Chāḷukyas of the tenth century patronized literature, and Raṇṇa and Nemichandra adorned their court; while the Chōḷas of Tanjore were patrons of sacred poetry, and of dancing and the drama, of which patronage the *Rājarāja nāṭakam* was the out-

[1] *Dakshiṇādyāminīyāmāt prasādamiva chetanā.*
Raghuvamśa, XVII, 1.

[2] Alberuni: *India*, Vol. 1, p. 189.

come. In the eleventh century Bhoja's Sanskrit college and his works on poetry, astronomy and architecture are the principal features in the literary history of Hindustan, while we have the codification of law in the *Mitāksharā* and the composition of sensuous poems in the west Chāḷukyan country. A great epoch of cultural extension and diffusion is associated with Ballāla Sena in the North, who sent numerous missionaries to Magadha, Orissa and Chittagong, to Bhutan and Nepal, and to Arakan ; and with Bengal and Dekhan kings who fostered the cultural expansion of India beyond the seas.

Most princes convoked assemblies of poets (Kāvyagoshṭhī) in their halls of discussion (*Vidyāvasatha*), where the works produced by authors were subjected to criticism. Sound canons of taste and judgment were evolved in these assemblies, and here, probably, we have the birth of our Alaṅkāra literature. Bhāmaha and Vāmana, Rudraṭa and Rudrabhaṭṭa were the pioneers in the literary dialectics of the early period, and they were succeeded by a whole host of writers after the seventh century. Rājaśekhara describes the hall of discussion,[1] the literary descendant of the Vedic *sabhā* and *parishad* and the ancestor of Akbar's *Ibādat Khāna*. The hall had sixteen pillars and four doors and decorated gateways. The king's seat was in the centre, on a jewelled platform enclosed by four elegantly carved pillars. To the north of this platform assembled the Sanskrit scholars and poets, to the east the Prākṛt poets and artists, to the west the Apabhramśa

[1] Cp. for South India, the *Maṇimekhalai*. Books 1 and 27.

poets and craftsmen, and to the south the Paiśāchī poets and the courtezans. The king-president (*Sabhā-pati*) rewarded with honours and gifts those authors whose works came up to the approved standard.

Some of these assemblies became specialized in the course of time, and acquired all-Indian fame in particular branches of arts and sciences. Grammar, lexicography and the philosophy of language were the subjects most esteemed at Pāṭaliputra, and poetics and rhetoric at Ujjain and Vidiśā. Kāḷidāsa speaks of Ujjain as a place of lovely women, experts in coquetry, and of Vidiśā as a terrestrial paradise. Bāṇa[1] describes Ujjain as having 'large bazaars, painted halls, heaps of gold and rubies, halls of assembly and congregations of connoisseurs of all arts,' and its people as 'courteous and truthful, pleasant and intellectual, humorous, spotless in attire, skilled in foreign languages, clever at subtleties of speech, versed in stories, and masters in the whole circle of the arts.' Gambling was one of the pernicious results of this development of a luxurious culture. But Ujjain continued to be the centre of the artists and the exponents of the Kalās.[2] In the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* Kāñchīpuram is described as excelling in music and dancing.

State patronage of learning did not yet degrade the scholars as a class, though it made the court, rather than the forest, the resort of men of culture. Individual instances of royal plagiarism are not proved in Sanskrit literature. It is wrong to regard Kāḷidāsa as fathering his work on Pravarasena, as

[1] *Harsha Charita*, Nirṇaya Sāgara Ed., p. 192.
[2] Kshemendra: *Kalāvilāsa*, v. 22.

the *Setubandhamahākāvya* clearly states at the end of every chapter that it was planned by the king and perfected by the poet. Harsha's authorship of his three dramas is merely suspected by scholars, as well as Vigraharāja's authorship of the *Harakeḷi Nāṭaka* inscribed on Ajmir marble. But the scholars in conclave were independent of the king. In the university of Vikramaśila they did not rise from their seats even when the king entered the hall.[1] Endowments for learning made by the kings were given away unconditionally as *Vidyābhogam*, like the grant of three villages to the college at Bāhūr in the eighth century.[2] The Professors of the college at Kāñchīpuram had political influence, and took part in the election of the king.

XIV

FEMALE EDUCATION

The education of girls was not neglected. That there was systematic education of girls at home is clear from the *Kumārasambhava*, where Kāḷidāsa tells us that Umā acquired the Vidyās,[3] from the *Śākuntaḷa*, where the heroine pens a love-letter on a lotus-leaf, and from the *Meghadūta*, where the Yaksha's wife is able to compose songs with letters drawn from her husband's name.[4] Among the female authors quoted in Hāla's Anthology are Anulakshmi, Mādhavī, Revā and Nāthā. Ksha-

[1] S. C. Das: *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, p. 60.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, No. 1.
[3] *Prapedire prāktanajanmavidyāh* in *Kumārasambhava*.
[4] *Madgotrāṇkam virachitapadam geyamudgātukāmā* (*Meghadūta*, II).

triya girls learnt also the art of dancing, as we understand from the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. The typical girl of Kāḷidāsa is one who is loved or is in love; the nymph of the side-long smile and downward glance; either unconscious of her charm, or innocently conscious of it—not for self-love and fluttering fussiness, but for the sake of another. Her social position had its own advantages. She could sanctify even where she could not save. The last-named work also gives us the qualifications of the teacher. Some were scholars indeed, but not clever in expounding the art; he was the foremost among teachers who was good in both respects.[1]

The education of girls fitted them for the rôle they were to play in life as a pervasive power influencing, but not directing or dictating, the public policy. They were trained to become virtuous pure-souled women, the future 'mothers of men'; and queens like Gautamī of the Āndhras prided themselves on being 'wife of a king and mother of another.' We rarely have figures like Vedic Maitreyī's, hidden behind philosophical theories, or Buddhist nuns poring over the Buddha's words by midnight. It is rarely, too, we have a Vasantasenā, the hetaera of the *Mṛchhakaṭikā*, as full of the intensity of life as man, sparkling, scintillating and business-like. Writers on Poetics disallowed amour with a married woman being made the keynote of a drama or a poem, thus setting their seal on the delicacy of the relations of the sexes.

[1] *Śikshā kriyā kasyachidātmasaṃsthā sankrāntiranyasya tathopalabdhā* | *Yasyobhayam sādhu sa śikshakānām dhuri pratishṭhāpayitavya eva* || (*Mālavikāgnimitra*, 1).

XV

SYMBOLISM IN ARTS AND CRAFTS

There was considerable development in this period of the art of education through symbolism. Fa-Hien describes a Dekhan rock-cut monastery as having five stages.[1] 'The lowest is made with elephant-figures and has five hundred cells in it. The second is made with lion-shapes and has four hundred chambers. The third is made with horse-shapes and has three hundred chambers. The fourth is made with ox-shapes and has two hundred chambers. The fifth has dove-shapes and has a hundred chambers in it.' The animals represented in architecture are in the same order. They seem to point to the philosophical teaching of the Vedānta that the gross body, the vital airs (lion), the senses (horses), the mind (ox) and knowledge (dove) are in the relation of sheaths of the soul in due order. They also point to the influence of Tantra literature and Tantra symbolism in this period. The Tantra texts apparently formed a chief part of the curricula of studies, along with the Śilpaśāstras.

The great development in this direction is to be traced in the art of image-making. Images of gods were known in India as early as Patañjali's time, for that author refers to the Mauryas as using idols in their greed for gold. Images are mentioned also in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in the early Buddhist records and in the *Arthaśāstra*. But we are not told in these works exactly how the images were fashioned and

[1] Beal: *Bud. Records*, I, pp. 68, 69. *Cf.* S. V. Venkateswara: *Symbolism in Indian Art* (*Rūpam* for April, 1927).

how far and in what way they were of educative value. The *Śukranītisāra* and the *Bṛhat Samhitā* of Varāhamihira give details of information on this head, and they are supplemented by the *Mātsya Purāṇa*. In the light of these, some figures on the Kushan coins and on the coins of the Sātavāhanas acquire a new meaning.

The coins of the Kushāṇas[1] show Śiva, Gaṇeśa and Gajalakshmī. The purpose of iconographic representation in this case was simply to show the regenerative power of God, of which phallus was the most popular symbol. Generation of a newer order arises from the destruction of the older: hence the weapon in the hands of Śiva. Gaṇeśa is the God of learning, representing the mind surmounting obstacles (vighna) and developing additional power with every act of surmounting. The persistency of mental application is represented by the rat-flag, and the weight and deliberation of the matured mind by the elephant with the single tusk, as contrasted with the fleeting mind of the spiritually undeveloped, which we find represented as a horse, or more often as a bull, in sculpture. It is along the lines of Tāntric symbolism that we could discover the meaning of the coin-ornaments. We have the full-fledged story of Gaṇeśa on a coin of Yajnaśrī Sātakarṇi. There is an elephant, starting from a palm tree, facing a sword, with a goddess on each side. The palm-fruit with its three eyes represents Śiva, the father of Gaṇeśa, the third eye being the eye of wisdom giving birth to spiritual fire. The goddesses at the sides are intellect, calm, cool and

[1] Rapson: *Coin Catalogue*.

concentrated (Buddhi), and knowledge of the reality (Chit), of which the aspirant catches only a passing glimpse. These are confronted by the forces of evil, which are represented sword in hand. The Buddhist emblems of Chaitya and tree, which are the generators of the wisdom of the Buddha, are more easily explained. The fire-worship of the Sassanians appears to be symbolised by the fire altar on the Indo-Sassanian coins.

Far the greatest gain to religion and philosophy was the conception and carving of Divinity as Naṭarāja dancing in life to the fiddling of fate; dressed in daintiness and delight, illumined by flickering patches of memory that float upon the face of dark oblivion (*apasmāra*), which is crushed under foot —the void whose name is death. His spouse is joy unalloyed, free from the vesture of flowing, flapping drapery, clothed in the calmness and repose of her magnetic and mastering smile. The death of the old has no terrors: it is soothing and serene when it is learnt that it is the entrance to a new life.[1] The savour and scent of music sets young life leaping and laughing in glee. So goes the round of dying and deathless life, changing form to adjust itself to new conditions, for survival after fitness for use is death. Corresponding to this conception of Śiva as the master-dancer Naṭarāja, we have that of Vishṇu as Raṅganātha, 'the Lord of the stage,' which is this phenomenal world. The

[1] Contrast with the modern view: 'Death is a state of protoplasmic immobility, of infinite functional inertia. . . . Latent life and not sleep is the image of death. . . . In life the sands of time are running out rapidly; in latent life the stream has been mysteriously arrested; in death the sand is all in the lower globe, never to leave it.' (Prof. D. F. Harris in *Chambers' Journal* for 1926).

sculptures at Deogarh and Mahāmallapuram agree in painting the God Anantaśayana as the Spiritual Omega of existence resting in the lap of hydra-headed Space on the ocean of endless Time (Ananta). He is also the Spiritual Alpha of a new order, as life is on the dawn of bloom like the lotus of creation, from which emerges the Creator facing all the cardinal points, and the whole gamut of Gods and Forces of Nature are wakeful and watching how the Infinite manifests itself in the new order of creation.

XVI

ORGANIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

A very remarkable achievement of this period is the organization of higher education in some of the prominent centres of India. The earliest and the greatest institutions were those of Benares and Taxila, which were the resort of people from all parts of the world, from at least as early as the Buddhist period. But Fa-Hien does not mention any monasteries in Taxila. In his time the chief place of higher Buddhist education was the Jaṭavana monastery near Pāṭalīputra, which had a regular succession of teachers extending over a thousand years. The monasteries of this part of the country invited students and 'teachers of virtue.' Rādhāswāmin, the professor of Mahāyāna there, was living in 'spotless purity' and was respected by the people as well as the king. The monasteries were richly endowed by kings and merchant princes. 'The heads of the Vaiśyas built *vihāras* for the priests, and endowed them with

fields, houses, gardens and orchards, along with the resident population.' These endowments were recorded in 'grants engraved on plates of metal.' 'The families of the people around provide the societies of these monks with an abundant supply of what they require, so that there is no lack or stint.' There was a great assembly hall where the monks congregated for discussion. Here Bhikkhu priests were received for three days, and there were heated discussions among 'the ninety-six erroneous schools' all recognizing this world and the next, each having a multitude of followers and all alike begging their food.[1]

The park at Jaṭavana was one hundred and thirty acres in extent, the grounds being two miles long and seven hundred paces in width, and enclosing one hundred and twenty buildings and several hundreds of houses. 'There were chapels for preaching and halls for meditation, mess-rooms and chambers for monks, bath-houses, a hospital, libraries and reading rooms, with pleasant shady tanks, and a great wall encompassing all. The libraries were richly furnished, not only with orthodox Buddhist literature but with Vedic and other non-Buddhistic works, and with treatises on the arts and sciences taught in India at the time. The monastery was also well-situated, being conveniently near the city, and yet far from the distracting sights and noises of the world. Moreover, the park afforded a perfect shade, and was a delightful place for walking in, during the heat and glare of the tropical day. It had streams and tanks of cool, clear water; it was free

[1] *Fa-Hien*, pp. 32, 43, 79 and 89.

from noxious stinging creatures; and it was a favourite resort of the good and devotional people of all religions.'[1]

XVII

SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES

The earliest traces of a school or educational building are possibly to be found in Sārnāth. Here is a plastered brick-lined reservoir or *kunda* with sloping sides, about seven feet square and five feet deep, with a flight of steps. Such tanks are met with on ancient Buddhist sites.[2] It is thought that monastery No. 1 here is not a monastery at all, as it is quite open on one side whereas monasteries are quadrangular (*chatuśśālā*), as there is little room for actual residential cells, as it is fronted by extensive courts with massive gateways, and as ornament has been lavished on it. For these reasons the structure is considered a temple. But no images have been found here, and it is therefore more likely that it is a school or university hall attached to a monastery. An inscription at Amarāvati mentions such halls of learning attached to monasteries.[3]

The most famous University of the period between Fa-Hien and I-tsing was that of Nālandā, identified

[1] *Yuan Chwang*, I, 386.

[2] *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report for* 1921–22, p. 44. Washing before eating was customary (*I-tsing*, chap. 20, p. 107). There were ten great pools near Nālandā, and a bell was tolled at the bathing hour.

[3] *Chētiya math. vētikā chapa*, which Mr. R. P. Chanda explains as the coping-stone of a Chaitya. He reads *Matha*, but says he cannot understand it. I would suggest *Maṭha*.

by Cunningham with Baragaon, where are numerous specimens of the finest sculpture. The identification tallies with the description of the site in the Buddhist scriptures as a *yojana* distant from Rājagṛha, where was a mango-park in Buddha's time,[1] and with Yuan Chwang's location of it as five miles distant from new Rājagṛha. The relics form a mass of brick-ruins 1,600 ft. by 400 ft. Inscriptions found in this place name it Nālandā,[2] which means 'insatiable in giving,' or 'not giving enough,' as curiosity once excited and thought stimulated could not be satisfied. The derivation is in any case a commentary on the ideal of University education—not cramming the mind with knowledge, but creating an insatiable thirst for it.

Yuan Chwang informs us that the grounds of Nālandā[3] had formed originally a mango-park which was bought by five hundred merchants for ten crores of gold coins and presented by them to the Buddha. Śakrāditya, a former king, built a monastery, his son, Buddha Gupta, another, King Tathāgata Gupta a third, and to the north-east of these a fourth was added by King Bālāditya. Other buildings grew apace, thanks to the munificence of later kings. Bālāditya's son, Vajra, built one on the west, and further north was another structure, put up by some unnamed king of the Middle Country. It is likely

[1] *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 371.
Dīgha Nikāya, I, 211, 212; II, 81, 86.

[2] *Archæological Survey of India: Annual Report* for 1915–16, Part I, pp. 12 and 13.

[3] Fa-Hien does not speak of Nālandā. It is styled a '*Mahāgrahāra*' in an inscription of Ādityasena (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 43, dated A.D. 672). It was flourishing enough by A.D. 750, when its abbot was invited to China.

that Śakrāditya is another name of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya of the Gupta lineage, who appears in some records as Devarāja (Śakra). If so, the monastery was built by that king who, as we know, had Buddhist subordinates. The result would tally with Yuan Chwang's description of Nālandā as having been planned after Bodh Gaya, and with the archæological view that it was modelled on Sārnāth. Dr. Spooner would place the ruins of Sārnāth as early as the Kushāṇa period. He assures us that there are four monasteries of different periods built one over the ruins of another.[1]

The University enclosure was girt round by a wall with one gate.[2] Here were thousands of brethren, learned, famous, and esteemed, models for all India. Foreign students, too, came here, to clear their doubts. 'Nālandā brother' was a name ensuring respect wherever one went. Foreign scholars flocked to Nālandā in response to invitation from patrons like Bālāditya. Some came to it from China. There were numerous students from abroad,[3] from all India, from the distance of ten thousand *li*, seeking admission. But the standard of learning expected of prospective students was so high that only two or three out of ten succeeded in getting admission.[4] There were endowments pouring in from kings and chieftains. Śakrāditya had provided free food for

[1] *Archæological Survey* (Eastern Circle): *Annual Report* for 1916–17, pp. 2 and 43.

[2] *Yuan Chwang*, II, 164, 165. The gates (porches) of Nālandā are of three storeys, each storey about 12 feet high (*Beal's Intr. to Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 27).

[3] Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, 169.

[4] *Yuan Chwang*, II, 165.

forty students. Regard was had to the age of the students in this alone, of all Buddhist institutions, for 'the members who were not fully ordained ranked according to age.'

The atmosphere of learning at Nālandā may be gathered from this description: 'There were Dharmapāla and Chandrapāla who gave fragrance to Buddha's teaching. Guṇamati and Sthiramati of excellent reputation among contemporaries, Prabhāmitra of clear argument, Jinamitra of elevated conversation, Jñānachandra of model character and perspicacious intellect, and Śīlabhadra whose perfect excellence was buried in obscurity.'[1]

The Chinese pilgrim was struck with the excellent discipline and eclectic teaching in the monastery. 'Their conduct is pure and unblameable; they follow in sincerity the precepts of the moral law; the rules of the convent are severe.'[2] All the eighteen Hīnayāna sects were represented and the studies included the Vedas, medicine and mathematics. Monks took precedence according to the range of their study rather than in accordance with profound erudition or excellence in any particular branch. Abbot Śīlabhadra was a man of all-round culture. Of 10,000 scholars[3] more than 1,000 were proficient in ten works on the 'Sūtras and Śāstras.' And yet such large numbers gave rise to no difficulty as regards the maintenance of discipline. There were only rare cases of punishment in the course of seven centuries. As the revenues of a hundred

[1] *Ibid.*, II, 165.

[2] Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, 170.

[3] The number of residents in Nālandā is 3000 (*I-tsing*, chap. x, p. 65). It is 3500 in Chavannes' *Memoirs of I-tsing*, p. 97.

villages had been settled on the University by the State, students and staff were well provided, and instruction was gratuitous.

Centres of the highest culture existed far and wide in India and were by no means confined to places like Taxila or Nālandā. The monastery at Kū-chī, in the extreme north-west, was a resort 'for men of eminence from distant lands, who were hospitably entertained by the king, officials, and people.'[1] The Buddhist brethren at Srughna were lucid expounders of abstract philosophical doctrines, and distinguished brethren from other lands came to them to reason out their doubts.[2] The Lichhavi country at the foot of the Himālayas was the abode of scholars and Buddhists, and one of its kings had composed a treatise on Etymology. To Assam (Kāmarūpa) came 'men of ability from far off lands for study.' There were many patrons of learning in Karṇasuvarṇa, and indefatigable students in Oḍra (Behar and Orissa). At Bezwada was the school of Bhāviveka, which 'externally displaying the Sāṅkhya garb was internally propagating the teaching of Nāgārjuna.'[3] South of Kāñchīpura was a 'large monastery which was a rendezvous of the most eminent men of the country.' Learning was highly prized in Magadha and Malwa, and students were both intellectual and zealous. Diṅnāga, a Brāhman of Kāñchīpura, was the leading light of the Mahārāshṭra country.

[1] *Yuan Chwang*, I, 63.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 318 There were many students of secular literature also in the monasteries (*I-tsing*, p. 106).

[3] *Yuan Chwang*, I, 191, 193, 212, 215, 226, 242. There were eight halls and three hundred apartments (*I-tsing*, chap. 32).

XVIII

UNIVERSITY EQUIPMENT

The University had observatories which ‘ seem to be lost in the vapours of the morning, and the upper rooms towered above the clouds.’ There was provision for education in the fine arts in ‘ the richly adorned towers ’ and ‘ the fairy-like turrets like hill tops.’ ‘ From the windows one may see every hour the winds and the clouds produce new forms ; and above the soaring eyes one may see the conjunctions of the Sun and the Moon.’ The outside courts had four stages with ‘ dragon projections and coloured eaves ; the pearl-red pillars carved and ornamented, richly adorned balustrades, and roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades.’[1] The bricks were of admirable texture, and they were so perfectly joined that ‘ in some places the joints between the bricks are altogether inconspicuous.’

I-tsing tells us that the manners of Nālandā were very strict, that there were three thousand residents, and that the lands exceeded three hundred villages bestowed by kings of many generations. There were ten pools near the monastery, and a gong, sounded every morning, reminded the priests of their bathing hour. The brethren protected themselves by rubbing oil on their heads every morning and on their feet in the night. There was a morning as well as an evening walk prescribed for health.[2]

[1] Beal : *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 111.

[2] Walks were insisted on before 11 a.m. and in the afternoon, for ‘ it cures diseases and helps to digest food ’ (*I-tsing*, chap. 23, 114).

Instructions were given by teachers both morning and evening, avoiding the heat of midday. When a Bhikkhu died, his sacred books were kept in the library and only other property was sold or distributed.[1]

XIX

SUBJECTS OF STUDY

Among the subjects taught were logic, literature, arts, medicine and philosophy. The chief religious study was Mahāyāna Buddhism ; but there was no sectarianism, and Vedas and Śāstras also were studied side by side. The teaching staff included strangers, from whom arts and sciences were learnt. On the students were enjoined the free and fearless pursuit of truth, meditation on the plan and purpose of life and creation, and respect and regard for high and low alike. The cardinal truth inculcated was the doctrine of *Karma* or cosmic justice, whose iron law compels every man to reap what he has sown and to the extent he has sown. Another principle was the appreciation of whatever was good in other lands or among other peoples, and the adaptation of what was learnt to the conditions of this country.

The chief objects of instruction were the five *Vidyās*, which were mastered, for example, by Kumāra Jīva and Guṇabhadra. The second of these was *Śilpi*, 'the science of the arts and the crafts,' which introduced men to the skilled professions, mechanical arts, and astrology. The four Vedas described by Yuan Chwang are the sciences of health, archi-

[1] *I-tsing*, pp. 65, 108, chaps. 23 and 36.

tecture for worship and sacrifice, war, and medicine. Watters is at a loss to explain what the pilgrim could have meant in calling these 'Vedas.'[1] But we can easily understand that this was due to a confusion. The pilgrim is really referring to the 'Upavedas' here, though he is unable to forget that the Vedas formed the principal subject of study in the classical schools. But this very mistake of Yuan Chwang is significant. It shows that the education of the time was becoming more practical, and in a real sense a preparation for life.

I-tsing gives us details of the 'Five Vidyās.'[2] First we have the Śabda Vidyā or grammar, then the Śilpasthāna Vidyā or the arts noted above, Chikitsā or medicine,[3] Hetu or logic, and Adhyātma or philosophy. Grammar was in five books. The *Siddhirastu* took six months, and Pāṇini's sūtras eight months, followed by the study of the roots (dhātu-pāṭha), which took three years of diligent study. There is disagreement between I-tsing and Yuan Chwang as regards the size of these books. The Sūtras of Pāṇini were a thousand *ślokas* long and the Dhātu-pāṭha a thousand. But three *khilas* were each a thousand long according to I-tsing, but are described by Yuan Chwang as *Ashṭadhātu*, eight hundred; *Manda*, three thousand; and *Uṇādi*, two thousand and five hundred.

[1] *Yuan Chwang*, I, 159.

[2] The largeness of the volume of literature may be gathered from the fact that I-tsing stayed at Nālandā for ten years and took with him Indian texts to the extent of half a million *ślokas*.

[3] Medical Science was in eight sections, epitomized into a single book, which is identified by Legge with *Suśruta Samhitā*. I think it is more likely that the reference is to the *Ashṭāngahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa.

For advanced study of grammar the texts were the *Kāśikā Vṛttisūtra* of 18,000 *ślokas*, with its commentary, the (Bhartṛhari) Śāstra, of 25,000, dealing with the principles of grammar; *Hetu* and *Udāharaṇa*, treating of human life, and the *Vākyapadīya* of 700 and its commentary of 7,000 based on inference from revealed texts (anumāna and śruti). The final touch was given to this line of culture by the study of the *Pei-na*, 3,000 *ślokas*, by Dharmapāla. I-tsing says that this work introduced one to the 'secrets of heaven and earth.'

Two main points are noteworthy in regard to this scheme of grammatical studies. The outlook was broad and bold, grammar being regarded only as a channel for opening the highest gateway of culture, including the study of human life and of the mysteries of existence. Secondly, there was a graduation of the course. The elements were taken up at the age of six, and the child mastered them in six months. There was a year's interval, and the new subject of Pāṇini's sūtras was begun only in the eighth year and took up eight months' time. It was only at ten that the next stage was reached, with the study of derivation and etymology, which took three years. Again there was an interval of two years before proceeding to the study of the *Kāśikā* between the ages of fifteen and twenty, and of Patañjali's work, which took another three years. The most advanced study beyond this point was guided by Bhartṛhari's works now lost, and no time-limit was prescribed for it, as it must have varied considerably with the aptitude and intelligence of the student. Nor did all the students take this course. Buddhist students

generally went to Nālandā or Valabhī after studying the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, and spent two or three years on logic and Jātaka stories. They also witnessed the disputations held in these places by crowds of eminent men.[1]

But the Indian ideal of knowledge was far higher than this book-learnt lore. 'The highest truth (paramārtha satya) is far beyond the reach of words or speech, but a concealed truth (samvrita satya) may be explained by words or phrases.' The latter was 'wordy truth.' Appearances concealed the real state. For instance, in a pitcher 'there is earth only in reality, but people think that it is a pitcher from erroneous predication.' *Avidyā* covers the intellect, and there follows illusory production of various forms of an object. *Samvṛti* is 'covering' of the reality. 'The idea of a snake being attributed to the rope, the rope, the real intellect, ceases to shine.'[2]

Lastly, the Hindu ideal of the third and fourth stages of life is reflected in the Buddhist accounts. 'Some scholars, content in seclusion, led a life of continence. Rulers could not make them come to court. They were held in high esteem by officials and peoples. Forgetting fatigue, they expatiated on the arts and sciences, and relied on perfect virtue. Though their families were affluent, they got living by alms. With them there is honour in knowing truth, and there is no disgrace in being destitute.'[3]

I-tsing's ideal of a man of culture will be clear

[1] *I-tsing*, pp. 177 and 178.
[2] *I-tsing*, chap. 34. Cp. *Adhyāsa* in Advaita Vedānta.
[3] *Yuan Chwang*, I, 161.

from his account of his own teacher. His Upādhyāya Shan-yu was well versed in astronomy, geography, mathematics, divination, and the calendar, and had a good ear for music. He could use the axe. He was never angry with his pupil. He was never inactive, never got tired. He never higgled in the market, which showed his generosity. His Āchārya Hui-hsi was always peaceful, calm, and impartial. He never fell ill. He recited the sacred texts every day for sixty years. He was as a mother to his pupil, as the Upādhyāya was as a father. He cautioned I-tsing to leave him as soon as his studies were over, saying, 'you must no longer stay with me; it hinders your study.' It was with his permission that I-tsing started on his travels.

XX

FEATURES OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

The above summary of the descriptions by the Chinese pilgrims discloses the main features of higher education in India. We have to note, first, its cosmopolitan character, most monasteries numbering among their students Jains (Tīrthikas), Buddhists and Hindus, while many came from far-off places, as to the monasteries at Srughna. Some of them contained, as we have seen, scholars from abroad, employed as teachers. The disputations that took place from time to time were not only inter-religious but inter-provincial in character.[1] It was a pleasant

[1] *Yuan Chwang*, I, 313, 319; II, 100, 108, 209–212.

diversion from the dull routine of the classroom and the lecture.

Secondly, there was a general spread of knowledge in the country by the diffusion of monastic and other institutions over a wide area. Yuan Chwang computes the Buddhist monasteries as 5,000 in number in the whole of India, and they were at very convenient distances. Within a score of miles of Nālandā, for instance, was the no less famous monastery of Tiladhā.[1]

Thirdly, in the school organization attention was paid to the conditions, climatic and cultural, characteristic of India. Classes were held only in the morning and evening hours and never during the heat of the day.[2] There were special instructions regarding the morning bath and ablutions, and the keeping of the system cooled by oil and other artificial appliances; and there was insistence on morning and evening walks for exercise.[3] In the buildings, coloured tiles were used to prevent the glare, and there were cool shady groves and parks attached to the educational institutions.

Fourthly, the education imparted laid stress on the formation of habits and character[4] rather than

[1] *I-tsing*, p. 184.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 119. We are put in mind of a similar arrangement in the *Talmud*, where there was also a reduction of one hour each day in school hours during summer. Nālandā was the only place where a water-clock was kept to determine the time (Beal, p. xxvii).

[3] *Ibid.*, chap. 23.

[4] The monastery at Thaneshwar had ' high chambers in close succession and detached terraces.' The Buddhist brethren in it ' lived pure and strict lives.' (*Yuan Chwang*, I, 316.) Punishment was mild, but effective, and depended on the gravity of the offence against discipline. It ranged from a reprimand, through cessation of oral intercourse and social boycott to final expulsion. (*Yuan Chwang*, p. 163.)

on mere intellectual sword-play. On the intellectual side there was not merely the cultivation of the memory, as in China, where it was one of the maxims of Tung-yu of the Wei dynasty that by reading a book a hundred times one would understand it by oneself. Teaching was, of course, oral, and great store was set by memorizing; but it was learning by heart for constant pondering over the meaning, rather than learning by rote. There were three steps in the practice of wisdom: study (śruta), thought (chintā) and meditation (bhāvanā). But a far higher place was given to the Āchārya, explained by I-tsing as a teacher of discipline, than to the Upādhyāya, who conveyed oral instruction. Both were likened to parents.

Fifthly, there was no lack of funds for the work of education, though pupils were charged no fees and got free boarding and lodging. There were extensive endowments everywhere, and title-deeds recording these on copper plates.[1] They were made not only by kings and nobles but by the common people among whom the institutions conducted their work. Two hundred families living about Nālandā contributed large quantities of rice, milk and butter. There were other sources of supply of oil, lime-fruits, areca nuts, etc., of which the pilgrim himself received a large share.[2]

[1] *Fa-Hien*, p. 43. Nālandā had the revenues of a hundred villages, according to Yuan Chwang, and of two hundred villages, according to I-tsing. There were copper-plate grants recording the benefactions.

[2] Beal: *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, pp. 108, 118. *Cf. Fa-Hien*, p. 89 and *I-tsing*, chap. x. Thus there was no need for teachers in India following some vocation like Johanen the shoe-maker, Simon the weaver or Joseph the carpenter.

Sixthly, there was something like a system of gradation of scholars according to rank and culture. 'Where spiritual attainments are high the distinctions conferred are extraordinary.' The names of distinguished scholars were writ large in white on the portico.[1] 'The brother who expounds orally one treatise (or class of scripture) in the Buddhist canon, whether *Vinaya*, *Abhidhamma* or *Sutta*, is exempted from serving under the prior; he who expounds two is invested with the outfit of a superior; he who expounds three has brethren deputed to assist him; he who expounds four has lay servants assigned to him; he who expounds five, rides on an elephant and has a surrounding retinue.' 'An ordained priest is *Dahara* (small teacher); after passing ten summer retreats, a *sthavira* (settled one), who could be trusted to live by himself without a teacher's supervision. An Upādhyāya must be a *Sthavira*. A *Karmācharya* must be fully acquainted with the *Vinaya*.' 'After five summers from the time the pupil gets up the *Vinaya*, he is allowed to live apart from his Upādhyāya. He can now go about among the people, but must be under some teacher wherever he goes, for five years more, until he understands the *Vinaya*.'[2]

'The brethren are often assembled for discussion to test intellectual capacity, to reject the worthless and advance the intelligent. Those who bring forward or estimate aright the five points of philosophy, and give subtle principles their proper place, who are ornate in diction and acute in refined distinctions, ride richly caparisoned elephants, preceded and

[1] *I-tsing*, p. 178. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 105 and 119.

followed by a host of attendants. But as for those for whom religious teaching has been offered in vain, who have been defeated in discussion, who are deficient in doctrine and redundant in speech, perverting the sense while keeping the language, the faces of such are promptly daubed with red and white clay, their bodies are covered with dirt, and they are driven out to the wild and thrown into ditches!'[1]

Lastly, while the State encouraged and patronized education and provided employment for the lay learned, it had no hand in running the institutions. It could not summon the learned men to appear and give enlightenment on any question that had cropped up. Scholars who led lives in seclusion and continence were held in great esteem by officials and people.

XXI

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH INDIA

We have special information about the educational institutions of South India in this period. Even in Buddhist education South Indian scholars attained a high rank, as one can gather from the detailed instances given by Yuan Chwang. Kāñchīpuram was a great centre, and the pilgrim had conversation with monks from Ceylon on Yoga philosophy at Kāñchīpuram. Dharmapāla of Kāñchī defeated a hundred Hīnayāna Sūtrakāras in a discussion lasting for seven days. Another discussion of twelve days ended in a great victory for Deva, disciple of

[1] *Yuan Chwang*, I, 162.

Nāgārjuna,[1] over the Jains at Pāṭalīputra. South Indian scholars were disputants in Karṇasuvarṇa (Bengal), and the great logician Diṅṅāga won his laurels in debates at Nālandā. Sometimes these were worsted in the discussions, as by Śīlabhadra at Nālandā. The interest of South India in the literary activities of the time is amply indicated by these references.[2]

Institutions of Brahmanical learning were widespread in the South, as the great pilgrims indicate, but of their working we are not told in detail. Turning to inscriptions, we have evidence of educational institutions like the *Ghaṭikā*, the *Agrahāra*, the *Bhaṭṭavṛtti*, the temple and the *Maṭha*; and to literature, of the *Sangam*. Of these the first and the last were institutions of an inter-provincial character.

XXII

THE GHAṬIKĀ

The earliest instance of the mention of Ghaṭikā is in the Tālaguṇḍa Pillar inscription of Kākutstha Varman. We are told there that Mayūra Śarman, the Brāhman founder of the fortunes of the Kadamba dynasty, entered with his teacher, Vīraśarman, the Ghaṭikā of Kāñchī, with a view to mastering all the sacred lore.[3] But he had to exchange the grass and

[1] It is of some interest that Nāgārjuna wrote on secular subjects as well. He is mentioned as the author of a *Ratiśāstra*. See *Vienna Oriental Journal* for 1909.

[2] *Yuan Chwang*, I, 374; II, 100, 110, 209–12, 227.

[3] *Pravachanam nikhilam*. Dr. Kielhorn incorrectly reads *nikhilām* and takes it with *ghaṭikām*, making no sense.

fuel of a peaceful Brāhman for the bow and arrow of a warrior (Kshatriya), as the sacred institution was in difficulties incidental to a war between the Pallavas and the Kshatrapas.[1] We have confirmation on this subject from the Velūrpāḷayam plates, which mention that the Pallava king, Skandaśishya, seized from the satrap Satyasena the Ghaṭikā of the Brāhmans. On account of this condition of war, the Ghaṭikā could not work for some time, and Mayūra Śarman exclaimed: 'Alas, though they work ever so hard, the final fruits of Brāhmanical learning depend for their realization on the mood of the Kshatriyas!'[2]

Three facts of cultural importance emerge from these inscriptions. There was a time-honoured institution at Kāñchīpura known as Ghaṭikā,[3] and it was under the patronage of the western Kshatrapas. When the Pallavas overthrew them and made Kāñchī their capital, the Ghaṭikā had to be abandoned by the Kshatrapas, though not without a struggle. This political influence of the rulers over a place of learning was not in accordance with usage, as the lament of Mayūra Śarman shows but too well. He says that Brāhman culture had fallen on evil days, since it depended on the countenance of the Kshatriya. Secondly, the Ghaṭikā was an institution of the highest learning, where teachers and pupils met and discussed, where by the clash

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, VII. *Pallavāśvasamsthena Kalahena*, which Kielhorn wrongly translates as 'quarrel with Pallava horsemen,' neglecting the significance of *Samsthena*. *Aśva* really represents the Horse-power of the Kshatrapas. *Cf.* Kāḷidāsa: (*Raghuvamśa Pāśchātyaih aśvasādhanaih*).

[2] *Kaliyugesmin aho bata kshatrāt pipelavā viprata yātā.* | *Brahmasiddhih kshatrādhīnā.* |

[3] Dr. Kielhorn says, it is not known on what authority, that the Ghaṭikā was an establishment, 'probably founded in most cases by a king.'

and contact of cultured scholars the highest knowledge could be obtained in religious literature (*pravachanam nikhilam*). Thirdly, the standard of learning was so high that even scholars who had completed their study had to approach the institution in all humility and gather crumbs of knowledge (*tarkukāh*).[1]

That such institutions existed throughout this period we find from frequent mention of them in inscriptions. In the Kāśākuḍi plates of Nandi-Varman Pallavamalla we read:[2] 'From whose time have prospered meritorious acts for the benefit of temples and Brāhmans, and the Ghaṭikā.' He had all the four Vedas discussed and their injunctions explained in the Ghaṭikā which he had made his own on account of the mutual attachment between him and the Brāhmans. Members who distinguished themselves in these discussions were known as Ghaṭikāsāhasa, found as the epithet of a Brāhman in the Haligere plates of the Western Gaṅga king Śivamāra.[3]

[1] *Cf. Piṇḍatarkukāh* in *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtras*.

[2] *South Indian Inscriptions*, II, 349 and 356.

Yasmātprabhṛtyalamavardhata dharmakarma |
Devadvijanma vishayam ghaṭikā cha dātuh. ||

Dr. Hultzch translates ghaṭikā as 'the vessel' and therefore the passage makes no sense in his translation.

Line 59. *Devabrāhmaṇa satkṛtātmavibhavo yah Kshatrachūdāmaṇih* |
Chāturvaidyamavīvṛdhan Svaghaṭikām bhūdevatābhaktitah. ||

Dr. Hultzch rightly corrects *chāturvaidyam* into *chāturvedyam*, but needlessly *avīvṛdhan* into *avīviśat*. He misreads *svaghaṭikām* into *svasaṭikām* and offers a correction *svavaśagām*, thus missing the main point, and translates, 'caused the goddess of the earth to be enjoyed by those familiar with the four Vedas.'

[3] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, III, 108, l. 41. *Ghaṭikāsāhasāya mādhavaśarmaṇe. Ghaṭikā Sahasrāya* is apparently a misreading (*cf. Ep. Ind.*, III, 36; IV, 196; VI, 241, and also *Ep. Car.*, V, 178 and VII, 197). Possibly,

XXIII

THE TAMIL ACADEMY (*Sangam*)

The early centuries A.D. witnessed Tamilian culture at the height of its glory. Academies were formed and they flourished, but unhappily their records are not extant in regard to the earliest period. The literary activities of the third Sangam have been preserved, and they embody a mass of tradition regarding the first two Sangams. They were patronized by princes and chieftains and had hundreds of men of letters enrolled in the ranks. They were associations of literati called together from time to time to adjudge the literary excellence of works submitted to them for criticism and to set the standard in Tamil style. They sought to regulate State patronage, and set the stamp of approval on works conforming to the standard, so that these might win their way to popular recognition. They sought to purify the Tamil language by writing down the grammar, and to enforce the rules of written grammar, as had been done centuries earlier for Sanskrit by Pāṇini. They popularized Aryan culture in the Tamil regions. One is reminded of the Babylonian academy of the third century, the *Metibta* (meeting or session), which convoked a

ghaṭikā is the same as *goshṭhī*, as suggested by Kielhorn. The earliest reference I could find to the latter word is in *Manusmriti*, where *goshṭhī-śrāddha* is one of the ceremonies mentioned (III, 254). It is significant, for the meaning of *goshṭhī*, that the reply of the recipients was *suśrutam* (well-heard or well-learnt), which may be contrasted with *svaditam* (well-eaten), *sampannam* (well-made) and *ruchitam* (well-tasted), used of the manes, men and gods respectively.

R

general assembly (the *Kalla*) twice a year, when a treatise previously announced, was brought and discussed. The Tamil Śangam, however, met not regularly, but only whenever summoned.

Nakkīrar tells us that there were 546 poets in the first Śangam, which had its seat at Madura[1] of the South, since submerged, and that the Śangam placed the stamp of approval on 4,449 works. It had the patronage of 89 Pāṇḍya kings, of whom seven were also poets. The second Śangam met at Kavāṭapuram and was patronized by five royal poets and fifty-four other kings. It contained fifty-nine scholars of eminence, and they passed 3,700 works of eminent poets.

This second Śangam was practically a continuation of the first, as some names of authors figure in both the lists. The third Śangam assembled in Uttara Madura. It was presided over by Nakkīrar. It was patronized by forty-nine kings, the last of whom was Ugra Pāṇḍya and three of whom were also poets. It gave its *imprimatur* to the works of 449 poets. They made culture cosmopolitan and free from narrow, sectarian and local influences. The *Kuṛal*, for instance, addresses itself to the whole community of mankind, irrespective of caste, creed or country. There is no hatred of things foreign, but a very noble appreciation of the works of Sanskrit poets and of learned men, the Brāhmans, who were devoting their time to culture and religion.

Apart from the fabulously long list of poets and patrons assigned to the Śangam period by tradition,

[1] The houses of teachers were on the eastern side of the city (*Śilappadikāram* XIII, ll, 191, 192).

and the impossible chronology extending through thousands of years, it may be accepted that here was an organisation like an academy for setting the standard in Tamil literature.[1] Of such literature one of the earliest extant works is the *Kuṛal* of Tiruvaḷ-ḷuvar, which, by tradition, got the stamp of merit from the Śangam, not without a laborious literary fight and super-human demonstration of its excellence. Anterior to this literary work is the *Tolkāppiyam* or grammar of Tolkāppiyar, the Tamilian Pāṇini. His work presupposes an anterior body of literature, as shown by the opening aphorism of the *Cheyyuḷiyal* of *Tolkāppiyam*.[2] This is supported by references to places submerged in the historical period, as the theatres of glory of forgotten poets, like the Pahruḷi river tracts of the Pāṇḍya country.

There is great difficulty in determining the date of this period of phenomenal literary activity in the Tamil country. The difficulty is the greater as there is a flavour of antiquity even in some of the later accounts. The *Maṇimekhalai*, for instance, speaks of the story of Udayana, which passed into folklore throughout India, and finds its Tamilian echo in the *Perumkādai*. It mentions a Hastipati, ruler of eastern Gandhāra, and his wife, Nīlapatī, the parents of Rāhula. It is clear that the earliest culture of the Tamilians of which we have record was built upon Sanskrit tradition, and was directly borrowed to some extent from Sanskrit sources. In the *Kuṛal*, for example, there are numerous passages,

[1] The *Śangam* was, therefore, a body of speakers and examiners like *Amoraim* and *Suburaim* of the contemporary Jewish academy.

[2] *Nalliśanpulavar cheyyuḷāruppena vallıkir kūri vakutturaittanare.* nza 313, p. 556 of V. Damodaran Pilla 's ed.).

moral maxims and sententious sayings borrowed from that mine of morals, the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*.[1]

It is quite certain, however, that the Tamils had some rudiments of their literature before this period of borrowing from the Sanskrit. There are branches of grammar and rules of prosody peculiar to the Tamil language, as in the *Poruḷadhikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Veṇba* metre. Tamil taste for music is clear from the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription,[2] where the notes, though corresponding to the Sanskrit octave, display a Dravidian originality in the adaptation.

XXIV

CONTRIBUTION OF SOUTH INDIA TO EDUCATION

The Śangam had a great influence on the culture and education of the Tamil country, and even some on the rest of India. It did much by setting an example of good style, and raised the general standard of writing. The story of Śīttalai Śāttanār and his persistent efforts at improvement in order to come up to the Śangam level of style shows that there was a strict conformity to the high standard thus set up. The excellence of Tamil Śangam style had become an established fact before the time of Tirumaṇgai Āḻwār, who refers to *Śangattamiḻ* and *Śangamukhattamiḻ*.

The stimulus given by the Śangam to literature took one of two forms—titles of honour and gifts of money. Among the titles bestowed by Tamilian kings were 'Doctor' (*āśiriyar*-sanskrit Āchārya), 'Pandit' (*Pulavar*) and 'prince of poets' (*Kavichr*

[1] *Puṛanānūṛu, Puṛam*, 91 ; *Kalittogai*, 104 ; *Śilappadikāram*, XI, 1£

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI.

kravarti). Numerous instances are given of gifts in land and in money. Kaṇṇanār of Kunnattūr got five hundred villages, and assignment of revenue; Kāppiyanār ten lakhs of rupees and Nacchellai one lakh of gold coins and solid gold for jewels, as mentioned in the *Padiṟṟuppattu*.

The Śangam attempted to restrict the free growth of the language by composing grammar and dictionaries, and to fix the rules of prosody and rhetoric. There was in this way a tendency to look down on the import of foreign words, the solitary exception being Sanskrit from which Tamil borrowed largely and freely, till there were numerous synonyms for words. It has been calculated that there are in Tamil 62 synonyms for the earth, 60 for mountain, 50 for water, and 34 for wind.[1]

But the most important influences of the Śangam on Tamil literature can be traced along two lines. Whereas the ancient literature of the Tamils consisted of classical lays of love and adventure, Tamil literature henceforth is predominently religious in character. There is hardly any Tamil work unconnected with religion or ethics. Secondly, there was no healthy prose literature developed, except by way of running commentaries or passages interspersed among stanzas. In these two respects one may discern the influence of the Aryan culture of the Epic age, before the development of the arts of music and dramatic poetry. The stamp of Epic culture was so fixed and so final that there was no attempt in Tamil at literature dealing with the common life of the people, even while Sanskrit dwelt upon these in its drama and light poetry, in the later period.

[1] M. Srinivasa Aiyangar: *Tamil Studies*.

The education of the people was profoundly influenced by these circumstances.[1] For centuries the great men of the Tamil country are poets whose literature is saturated with devotional elements, which were moulded into Śaivism and Vaishṇavism on the overthrow of the then dominant Jainism. There was a gradual alliance of literature and religion, and the eminent litterateurs ended their lives as recluses, giving up the world and giving themselves up to contemplation of God and conversion of their fellow-men. As they got more and more followers, some sort of organization became necessary. Thus came into being monasteries of these recluses, which were also great seminaries of learning. The formation of such Maṭhas was a great factor in the education of India. We can hardly trace the idea that led to their original foundation. It was in all probability entirely religious. But in course of time the Maṭha became a great educative force, and imparted both secular and religious instruction. The earliest Maṭhas of which we have clear record in epigraphy are those associated with Jnāna-Sambandha (seventh cent. A.D.), which in the next few centuries had branches in numerous tracts of the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries.

As religious poetry was the efflorescence of Tamil literature, the construction of rock-cut temples was the most important work of art in this period. We have no means of knowing how the

[1] There were in the Dravidian village a theatre, a school, quarters for travellers and playgrounds. This we learn from the *Chintāmaṇi* and the *Skandapurāṇam*. Young men played football or thumped the ball with the hand (*Chintāmaṇi*, v, 151). The spacious courtyards in front of big houses were meant for children to play there (*Paṭṭiṇappālai*, II, 24, 5).

artists and architects of the Seven Pagodas were trained, but we have no reason to assume that their training was supervised by foreign teachers. The art of constructing temples and casting or fashioning images was an indigenous art, and it grew up in this period throughout the length and breadth of India. But South India takes the lead.

Whether or not the activities of the Sangam period represent the first efforts of the Tamils in putting into writing the treasured folk-lore of the deeds and daring adventures of their heroes in the past, there was a great impetus to put things in writing. Tamil elementary education begins with learning how to write, and the letter in Tamil is the written symbol (*eḻuttu*), not the spoken sound (*śabda*) as in Sanskrit. Even music was put into writing. This influence may have extended to Sanskrit literature which had partiality for oral tradition.

The Tamil works lay greater emphasis on righteousness than on learning. 'The Veda, if forgotten, is soon learnt again, but the Brāhman who has fallen from his *Dharma* is fallen for ever.'[1] 'Brahmanical learning and righteousness would thrive together under the rule of a righteous king.'[2] The Epics give us a picture of Jaina monasteries at Kāveripaṭṭaṇam, Uraiyūr and Madura, teaching the virtue of non-injury to beings and preaching philosophy and religion. There were both monks and nuns. The cool cloisters had high walls, painted red, and overlooked little flower-gardens. Such teaching was also given on occasions of festivals, like that in honour of Indra at Puhār. The *Nālaḍiyār*, styled by Dr. Pope the

[1] *Kuṛal*, 134. [2] *Ibid.*, 543.

'*Veḷḷāḷar Vedam*,' has 400 didactic sayings, some of which have become in South India almost household words. They also consist largely of borrowings from the Sanskrit.

At the same time there were frequent disputations among the learned to keep neat and trim the torch of learning. We learn in the *Paṭṭinappālai* that 'men of learning and reputation put up flags inviting combatants to challenge their scholarship.'

The ideal of learning in the Tamil country may be gathered from the *Nannūl*, which emphasizes the need for discrimination and reflection in the student, and appreciates spontaneity and originality.

> 'The swan, the cow, the earth, the parrot, the pot with holes,
> The browsing goat, the buffalo, the straining fibre;
> These, the first, the middle sort, and the last, of scholars shadow forth.'[1]

The swan discriminates; the cow ruminates at leisure; the earth yields in proportion to labour bestowed; the parrot merely repeats; the pot with holes loses all; the goat eats the tips only; the buffalo makes the water in the pond muddy and drinks it; the strainer lets all the water out and retains only the dregs.

Kānchīpura in South India was in this period a great centre of light and religion. The Jaina *Rājāvaḷīkathā* mentions Sāmantabhadra as having gone to Kāñchīpura a number of times, and a Mysore inscription bears this out.[2] Pūjyapāda was the founder of the Dravidian Sangha in the fifth century A.D.

[1] Dr. Pope's Tr. in the *Indian Magazine and Review* for 1888, p. 45.

[2] Inscription of Śravaṇa Belgōla in *Ep. Car.*, vol. II, revised No. 44.

The ideal teacher of the highest grade was Dakshiṇāmūrti described by Bhāravi and Saṅkarāchārya. The youthful teacher had the vow of silence, but his magnetism penetrated men of age and experience.

CHAPTER V

THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE BROADCASTING OF CULTURE

CHAPTER V

THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE BROADCASTING OF CULTURE

I

EDUCATIONAL IMPROVEMENTS

THE main educational improvements effected in the period after the seventh century A.D. may be considered under four broad heads. In the first place, there were new institutions known as Vidyāpīṭhas or seats of spiritual learning, founded by the heads of religious orders such as the great Śaṅkarāchārya. Secondly, there were a number of Śaiva and Vaishṇava Maṭhas throughout the country, which were actuated avowedly by a missionary purpose. Thirdly, there were numerous temples erected in this period, especially in South India. They were intended to be of educative value for the masses, striving to lead them to a religious life by processions and festivals. The architecture and iconography of the time sought to impress the worshipper with the forms and deeds of divinities as set forth in the traditional accounts, and to form in him a certain attitude of worship or devotion. Fourthly, there were endowments made to temples and villages, not only for religious but for secular purposes—such as colleges and hostels, hospitals and choultries. The minds of

thinking men were turned from ritualism and devotion once more to the path of philosophy. The modern metaphysical systems of India were founded in this period. At the same time the old centres of learning went on their wonted course, and new ones came into being on almost similar lines. The older institutions for the development and dissemination of culture existed side by side with the new developments. There was also the extension of cultural institutions beyond the bounds of India, and a broadcasting of culture in India through the vernaculars.

II

BHAṬṬAVṚTTI

Bhaṭṭavṛtti[1] was a grant of land to learned men, as we have in the Omgoḍu grant of Vijaya Skanda Varman, who was versed in the two Vedas and the six Vedāngas. Bhaṭṭavṛttis were exempted, like Vaidyavṛttis (grants to ancestral physicians) from taxation by the Chōḷa Emperor Rāja Rāja I in the tenth century. They were not merely stipends for study, but for teaching, as we learn from an inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Govinda IV, of the early tenth century.[2] The latter makes a grant of twelve *gadyāṇas* for stipends of professors and two *gadyāṇas* to ghaḷige (ghaḷigage). It is easy to understand that Bhaṭṭa denoted Brāhmans whose duty was to teach as well as to learn. Sometimes the donee is described as Mahopādhyāya (great teacher), as, for

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, 250; *S. I. I.*, I, p. 91.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, 327; *Ghaḷga* in Kannada corresponds to *ghaṭikā* in Sanskrit.

instance, Godhala Deva, who was the exponent of the popular systems of Mīmāmsā, Vyākaraṇa, Tarka and Vedānta in the reign of Vigrahapāla of Bengal.[1]

Early Chōḷa inscriptions show that Bhaṭṭavṛtti was not merely a reward of learning, but a compensation for the free giving of instruction. A record of Āditya II of the ninth century mentions two *ma* of land sold as Bhaṭṭavṛtti for expounding the *Prābhākaram* at Kumbakonam.[2] A Nellore inscription[3] clearly states that *Bhaṭṭavṛttimānyam* was for carrying on work connected with culture.

More important than these are endowments to institutions of a sacred character, where learning was preserved and comforts provided for those who had no fixed habitations. Of this class were the endowments for the Kūrchas and Nirgranthas and for the learned ascetics of the Yāpanīya sect, during the four months of the winter (varsha), and grants to the Śvetāmbaras and Nirgranthas.[4] Perhaps the earliest of the benefactions was that of Ushavadāta at Nasik in the second century for the ascetics at Velūraka, who would keep the winter there 'without any distinction of sect or origin,' and for the supply of clothing and medical arrangements for them.[5]

Endowments to learned Brāhmans took the form of Agrahāra, i.e. village settlement. An early and important instance is that of Sthāna Kuṇḍūr

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, 301.
[2] *S.I.I.*, III, No. 200 and No. 223 of 1911.
[3] Nellore, No 615
[4] Fleet: *Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*, Nos. 21, 22 and 37.
[5] *Chaturdiśa sanghasa* in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, No. 7.

(Tāḷagunda), settled with thirty-two Brāhman families from Ahicchatra, who taught the people. This Agrahāra contained thirty-thousand Brāhmans, enjoying the revenues of one hundred and forty-four villages, about A.D. 1091.[1] Among the records of Agrahāras[2] are the Chicacole Plates of Devendra Varman, which record the grant of a village as an Agrahāra to six Brāhmans for supporting ascetic teachers and their students; the stone inscription of Kūppatūr, which mentions the Mahājanas as learning, teaching, sacrificing, etc.

Settlements of the learned in parts of towns were known as Brahmapuri. There were seven such at Belgame, one of which had thirty-eight Brāhman families dwelling in front of temples and holding aloft the torch of learning, attaining high excellence in linguistics and letters.[3] The village of Niranthanin is styled Brahmapuri in an inscription of Madhurāntaka Pottappi Chōḷa Nallamśittaraśa, who restores a grant made by Vatsarāja.[4] These Brahmapuris were the support of many poets, disputants, orators and learned people. That there were regular discussions held at not infrequent intervals is clear from a grant of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, which refers to the 'youths eloquent at discussions who are honoured by the chief people of the locality, who had made them serve on the committee of five.'[5]

[1] *Ep. Car.*, VII, 178 (Sk).

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 130–134, of the *Gaṅga* era, 183.
Madras Epigraphist Reports for 1913. No. 144 of Śaka 1069. *Ep. Car.*, VIII (SB), 249.

[3] *Ep. Car.*, VII (Sk), 123.

[4] *Madras Ep. Rep.*, for 1919. No. 570 (Cudappa).

[5] *Pañchavārīm samāpayya vārag‿shṭīshu vāgminah.*
Ep. Ind., V, ll. 27, 28.

Such discussions were liberally patronized by kings and nobles, as is obvious from numerous passages in the inscriptions of the Kadambas.[1]

III

THE MAṬHA AS AN EDUCATIONAL AGENCY

The most important educational agency of the time was the Maṭha, which was really a hostel or hall for students.[2] Maṭhas were free feeding houses, where the poor and the infirm found board and lodging, as is clear from inscriptions of the tenth century. An inscription of Amoghavarsha mentions that it was ' the copy of a copper-plate grant made at the request of the five Maṭhas and three towns.' One of the donees is surnamed Traividya, showing that these were the seats of orthodox Hinduism and Vedic learning. But teachers are mentioned in connection with them—such as Nirvāṇadeva and Vāgīśvara Paṇḍita, both in Chingleput.[3] The foundation of Maṭhas by kings and chieftains is the subject-matter of several inscriptions, like that built in honour of Midaduḍayār in the second year of Āditya

[1] This is how I would explain the expression, *pratikṛta svādhyāya charchā parāṇām kadambānām*, the significance of which has been misread by Dr. Fleet, whose rendering is ' thoroughly well-versed in the line of inquiry which he adopted.' (*Sans* and *Kan. Ins.*, No. 37, l. 2), or ' who have adopted the system of private enquiry ' (*Ibid.*, No. 37, l. 4). *Pratikāra* is usually rendered in a bad sense. But early instances of its use in the sense of ' reward ' are in evidence, *e.g. Kriteshu pratikartavyam esha dharmah sanātanah | soyam tat pratikārārthī tvattah sammānamarhati ||* (*Rāmāyaṇa.*)

[2] *Maṭhaśchchātrādinilayah* (Amarakośa).

[3] *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, No. 205 of 1913 ; 371 of 1911 ; 477 of 1912. The last mentions Nirvāṇadeva of Tanjore, and Nellore 525 mentions Dattātreya swāmin, ' the excellent guru.'

I Chōḷa, king of Tanjore,[1] and by a minister of Vikrama Chōḷa, for feeding fifty Brāhmans. But even common people endowed such seats of learning. A Brāhman lady of Mercara, for instance, founded a Maṭha at Tiruvāriyūr in Chingleput district.[2] Sometimes a new Maṭha was founded as a branch of an old prosperous one. A good instance is that of Īśāna Deva, who emigrated from the Krishṇa Goḷaki of Tiruvārūr and founded a Maṭha with pupils at Karunguḷam.[3] Sometimes the founder of a new Maṭha was a pupil of one of the older institutions. An interesting instance of this is furnished by an inscription which records the foundation of a Maṭha in honour of Īśāna Deva by a lady disciple of his, agreeably to her dying husband's instructions.[4]

The Maṭhas as educational centres played, therefore, a remarkable part in the cultural life of India in the centuries anterior to the Musalman conquest. From the Mysore inscriptions we get an idea of the history of the working of those at Belgame, the earliest of which was the Pañchaliṅga Maṭha. The first pontiff of this is described as the 'uprooter of the doctrine of Buddhas, Mīmāsakas, Lokāyatas, Sānkhyas, Digambaras and Advaitins; the sole support of Naiyāyikas, fluent and fond of explaining things.[5] The Kōḍiya Maṭha was the seat of instruction in Vedas, Vedāṅgas; the grammar schools of Kumāra, Pāṇini and Śākaṭāyana, *Śabdānuśāsana* and other works; the six *Darśanas;* the Yoga śāstras of Lakuḷa, Patañjali

[1] *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, 222 and 269 of 1911.
[2] *Ibid.*, Nos. 127 and 132 of 1912; 373 of 1913.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 504 of 1909. [4] *Ibid.*, No. 119 of 1911
[5] *Vyākhyāna keḷi lampaṭa*, Sk. 126, A.D. 1037.

and others; the eighteen Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstras, Kāvyas, Nāṭakas, and other śāstras. It is interesting that, though the Maṭha was pre-eminently a religious institution, secular learning was also imparted in it. Finally, we are informed in the inscriptions,[1] that it ministered to the wants of all sorts of people from all countries, and that it gave shelter to the oppressed, and food and medicine to the poor and the sick.

The history of this Maṭha throws light on its work as an educational institution. It was founded by Kāḷāmukha ascetics from Kashmir between A.D. 1054 and 1093. The third pontiff was proficient in siddhānta, tarka, vyākaraṇa, kāvya, nāṭaka, Bharata śāstra and other sciences connected with sāhitya, and in Jaina, Lokāyata, Buddhism and Lakuḷa Siddhānta. The fourth pontiff gave up temporal affairs to his senior disciple and gave himself up to religious life and teaching. Another pontiff is spoken of as not only well versed in Vedānta, Siddhānta, Āgama, etc., but as clever in explaining the origin of words and in devising new metres. There were many under him who observed the vow of studentship for life.[2] Other houses of Kāḷāmukhas in Belgame were the Hiraṇyamaṭha (the great and rich monastery), the Pañchamaṭha (the confederacy of five), which was probably of very early date, as the inscriptions style it Mūlasthāna (the original

[1] *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 102. *Shaḍdarśana vyākhyāna sthānamum, yogaśāstra vyākhyāna sthānamum, vividha vidyāsthānamum, roga bhaishajya sthānamum, sakalabhūtābhayapradāna sthānamum*

[2] *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 98, 99, 102, 114. *Cf.*, Sk. 105.

Naishṭika chchātra santati samchchannarum . . .
śabdōtpatti vivechana chaturarum. . . .

institution), and the Tripurāntaka, all of which find mention in epigraphs of the twelfth century.

It will be clear from the foregoing account that no narrow view was taken of culture in these institutions. The scheme of studies comprised all the departments of learning which were considered of value at the time. The distinctions claimed for some of the pontiffs in literature, *belles-lettres* and the Drama, as well as in Dramaturgy, bears ample evidence that the teaching was intended for the people at large. The study of the foreign systems of religion and philosophy by the Kāpālikar may have been only in the interests of religious controversy. It is possible that some sort of specialization is intended in the appellation of the original Maṭha as being five-fold. The Maṭhas of Kāḷāmukhas illustrate the reaction on Hindu sects of the Buddhistic monastic organization and arrangements. That their fundamental purpose was educational is clear from the reference in one of the inscriptions to the Kōḍiya Maṭha, as 'our hereditary Gurukula' (seat of learning). The sectarian narrowness incidental to such institutions was corrected by discussions with other sectarians. We have evidence of religious halls of Buddhists and Jainas in the same locality as early as the eleventh century.[1]

Some Maṭhas were distinctly sectarian in character. We read in the Bezwada pillar inscription of Yuddha Malla, which is interesting as the earliest specimen extant of Telugu poetry, that it was sinful for other people than Śaiva mendicants to occupy or congregate

[1] Sk. 136, of A.D. 1068; Sk. 124, of A.D. 1077; Sk. 106, of A.D. 1099 mentions a Buddhist teacher.

in the place.[1] The Gōḷaki of Mannikoil was Vaishṇava. All these Maṭhas were resorts of religious men as well as of mendicants. But there was not necessarily among these a feeling of aloofness or of animosity to one another. Inscriptions at Shermadevi show Vaishṇava as well as Śaiva flourishing side by side.[2] The amicable relations of the authorities of these institutions are proved by the existence of three different Maṭhas in a single temple at Tiruvālīśwaram—the *Gōḷaki*, whose teacher had jurisdiction over three lakhs of villages where the successors of Jñānamitra Āchārya expounded *Śivajñāna* to the visitors, the *Vīra paṇḍitan tirumaḍam*, and the *Grāmarājan tirumaḍam*.

A peculiar interest attaches to the Śaiva Maṭhas founded by Tirujñāna Sambandha and his followers. There are numerous inscriptions mentioning them in the districts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. They were actuated by missionary zeal, and their eminence was gauged by the number of villages which came within the sphere of their religious influence. One of these at Tiruvānaikāval was known as the Maṭha of 48,000 (villages or families), which was later superseded by that of Śaṅkarāchārya, apparently a branch of that at Kāñchīpuram. It appears, therefore, that the earlier Maṭhas of Śaivite creed were absorbed into those founded by Śaṅkarāchārya or replaced by the latter.

We do not hear of Vaishṇava Maṭhas at this time, though the Āḻwārs and the early Āchāryas flourished

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 158, of A.D. 930.

[2] *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, for 1916, Nos. 567 and 579.

in the period. It was not that the Vaishṇava teachers were poor or without influence or proper following. The Ālwārs had patrons among the Pallava kings, and the early Āchāryas among the first Chōḷa emperors of Tanjore. The absence of a system to carry on the teaching permanently was probably one of the causes which led to the Vaishṇava doctrines falling into desuetude by the time of their earliest Āchārya, Nāthamuni. The Maṭhas of the Vaishṇavas in modern times are apparently all of a later age.

IV

VIDYĀPĪṬHA: ITS SIGNIFICANCE

The foundation of Vidyāpīṭhas is attributed to the great Śaṅkarāchārya. It is difficult to disentangle the details of accrued legend from the facts of the great Śaṅkara's biography, but this much can be believed and is admitted by the conflicting schools of tradition, that he was a native of Keraḷa, a deep and profound Vedic scholar, and the founder of a new system of philosophy, original in essence, though professedly founded on the older schools of thought. The progress of Śaṅkara from one part of India to another was of great educative value to kings and princes, and men of material interests in life were made to think of the life after death. Princes were subdued to religious life by direct dealing and disputation. For the conversion of the peasant and for informing his mind, Śaṅkara is said to have founded centres of teaching known as

Vidyāpīṭhas, with a great teacher of teachers presiding over each. One such centre was Kāñchīpuram, the place of the most ancient fame in South India, the capital of Satyaputra in Aśoka's edicts.[1] Here Śaṅkara had one of his disciples presiding. Other seats were Śringeri, Dwāraka, Badarī, and Jagannāth, one in each corner of India. In theory the Vidyāpīṭha was an expansion of the old Gurukulas, the seat and centre of several Gurukulas, presided over by the Jagadguru, Guru of Gurus. But in practice it was an institution modelled on the Śaiva Maṭhas, each of which had a teacher whose influence extended to thousands of villages round about. The Jagadguru was held in universal esteem by people of his persuasion, and his word was law so far as religious usages were concerned.

The Vidyāpīṭha was also an agency for the spread of Sanskrit literature. Logic and grammar were freely taught, and Vedic and Vedāntic lore. Students were freely fed in most cases by liberal endowments made by the public. When the funds ran short, the Pīṭhādhipati had only to go his round to men of fortune, and they readily placed ample resources at his disposal. The Pīṭha was therefore a great agency whereby the riches of the wealthy and well-to-do were made available for tending the body and feasting the mind of the weak and the penurious. But the Vidyāpīṭha did more than merely impart direct relief and instruction. It patronized pandits and scholars and aimed at a high degree of academic achievement and ideal. These scholars and pandits were often sent out

[1] S. V. Venkateswara: In the *Indian Antiquary* for 1919.

among the remote villagers to inform their minds and win them to the ways of goodness and of truth.

The earliest record of a Vidyāpīṭha is, I believe, that which I discovered in the Maṭha of Kāñchīpuram. It is a copper-plate recording the grant of a village in Chingleput to the head of the Maṭha at the time, a follower of Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya, 'who was pleasing religious students by daily gifts of food and expounding to them the treasures of the Vedānta.'[1] The grant was intended to cover the cost of feeding either 108 or 800 Brāhmans daily with sumptuous food. It is not dated, but the astronomical data found in it doubtless refer to the year A.D. 1291.

V

EFFECTS ON EDUCATION

But the greatest effect on thought of the foundation of Maṭhas and Vidyāpīṭhas was the turning of the current of religion from ritualism and devotion to logic and speculation. This in turn led to controversies among the conflicting schools of philosophy. The mass of dialectical literature produced in this period was so immense that even the published works are in hundreds of volumes. Schools subsidiary to the main institution were not long in being formed, and the old path of toleration and co-operation was

[1] *Nigamāntarahasyārtham śishyebhyah suvivṛṇvate.* (S. V. Venkateswara: *Conjeeveram Copper-plate of Vijayagaṇḍa Gopāla. Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIII, No. 16.) Prof. Keith and Sir Charles Elliot have hesitated to accept my date for Śaṅkarāchārya (*J.R.A.S.*, 1916) on the ground that Vāchaspati lived in 898, *Vikrama* era. But Vāchaspati's date is referable to the *Śaka* era, as this was the era current in Bihar in this period.

given up, and that of bigotry and rivalry took its place. The loss to the cause of politics and religion was a gain to the culture of the rational faculty. It is in the dialectical literature of the time that we have the development of a sound system of logic, psychology and epistemology. Clearness of thinking and cogency of reasoning are the main features of all these schools, in the discussion of the philosophical bases of metaphysical problems. The works of the later period left the goal of metaphysics untouched. Tarka became the fashion, and it was logic for its own sake. The ardent appeal of the Veda for concerted action and endeavour, the denunciation of schismatics by the Buddha and Aśoka, the prayer of the Vedāntin that all strife and turmoil should cease, were either forgotten or unheard amidst the din and bustle of party-warfare in religion. Bred in such an atmosphere of controversy and acrimonious wrangling in religious matters, it was little wonder that the discord and dissension extended to political affairs and provoked that disunion which left the country an easy prey to the foreign invader.

VI

ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND ICONOLOGY

The greatest development in this period is represented by architecture, sculpture, and iconology. These are of importance from the educational point of view, for in India the function of art was not differentiated from that of education. The very site chosen for a temple has its artistic and educational

significance; for, perched on the top of a hill as most South Indian temples are, the human mind admires the splendour of the surrounding scenery, while the human heart renders thanks to the Maker, and leaps with a patriotic pride in the glorious motherland. Even when the temples are built on a level plain, this effect is sought to be secured by the cloud-capped towers and turrets which are so distinctive a feature of Dravidian architecture.

VII

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TEMPLE

We may now consider the temple as an educative agency. As we enter the temple, the first thing that strikes us is the pictorial or sculptural scenery on the walls and panelled ceiling, on the gateways and elsewhere. These pictures were, at least in this early period, positively designed to impart instruction in all departments of learning which were directly or remotely connected with religion. The figures of the God-head as Creator, Preserver and Destroyer are easily recognized and explained. But there are numerous other figures of sages, heroes and devotees whose stories are familiar to the pilgrim in the legendary lore of Purāṇas and the Sanskrit epics, or even in the local legends and stories passing from the mouth to the ear. But there was hardly any department of thought or activity which the Hindu did not connect with religion and which could not, he thought, be refined and spiritualized. On the temple of Chidambaram[1]

[1] *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, for 1913, and Plate.

we have sculptures of the various forms of dancing mentioned in the *Bharata Nāṭyaśāstra* and referred to in the *Kāma Sūtras*. This is appropriate because the God of the temple is the Master Dancer by whose dance the Manifested was born out of the Unmanifested. Dancing was of importance to the Yogi, as it helped in training the physical body to cease to be a bar to contemplation, i.e. from acting as a brake on the mind. On the walls of some of the temples or on the stones paving the floor are found scenic representations of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as at Kumbakonam and Tellicherry; or stories from the *Mahābhārata* as depicted on the wooden ceiling as at Vaikam, Cranganore and most other temples.

Advanced education also found its proper place in the precincts of the temple. The Maṇḍapas or porches, some of which, like the one at Śrīraṅgam, are expanded into halls of a thousand pillars, served as class-rooms for sacred as well as secular studies. Such expressions in inscriptions as 'the hall where grammar was taught' (*vyākaraṇadāna Maṇḍapa*), at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr,[1] remind us that some of these halls were systematically used for the purpose of holding classes on such subjects as grammar. Even courses of study which were not in strict accord with the views of the founder of the temple were not regarded with disfavour. Prābhākara Mīmāmsā was among the subjects taught at Kumbakonam in a hall in the Nāgeśvara temple.[2] There is no instance of persecution till we come to the reign of Kulōttuṅga III, who led a crusade against the non-Brāhmaṇa Śaiva Maṭhas. Among the donors of

[1] *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, for 1913. [2] *Ibid.*, for 1912.

temples we find men of all persuasions, Vaishṇava, Śaiva and Śākta. The temple of Dārāsuram, near Kumbakonam, contains the benefactions of Kāḷāmukha and Pāśupata devotees.[1] Wars of religion may have waged abroad, but peace and concord and co-operation reigned inside the temple walls.

From the vast, sometimes bewildering, variety of the figures in sculpture and painting on the outer walls and in the porches round the central shrine where the familiar forms of gods and goddesses are depicted for popular religious education, the devotee passes on to the Holy of Holies. Here we have no ornamentation, and a strange monotony is betrayed by the architecture. Away from the blazing lights around, the tom-tom and music of bell-metal reveal the seat of the central image or idol. The pilgrim feels as if he were resting his heart, after the pomp and splendour of manifestation, in the quietness of the unmanifested. The scent of flowers and perfumes, the incense on the altar, the lights and the offerings, the tinkling bells, and the washing waters remind the thinking soul of the trappings of embodiment, the sheaths of the soul which sense sound, sight, touch, smell and taste. Beyond these sense-objects is naught but Divinity, appearing before the worshipper through the naked form of the image. In calm and cool contemplation, in the painful and self-forgetting travail of devotion, he ponders on differences in form and name, these only as distinguishing him from divinity. His reverie is broken as the bathing of the idol takes place, and he is shown

[1] *Madr. Ep. Rep., op. cit.,* Plate.

how the vesture of the visible world wraps the divine mystery, and over this primary cloak are the other cloaks, of ornaments and of those comforts and luxuries that are fashioned by the hand of man. Then come again the floral perfume and the incense on the altar, the myriad of lights and the food-offerings marking the various stages in the evolution of Matter out of Cosmic energy. It is not necessary to labour the point. There are details enshrined in the structure and pose of images, and these differ in different cases. But all alike are at one in regard to these essentials of worship, the common method of Hindu religious teaching, the common background of all religious sects and factions in India. The differences are due to the different stories embodied in legendary lore, and the need for appealing to divinity in different ways in accordance with the innate inclination and the environment and atmosphere in which the religionist is placed.

It is not necessary to discuss here the pros and cons of image-worship. It has been condemned by the Buddha and Buddhists and by various other schools in India, ever since it was evolved as an auxiliary to religion. Even among the orthodox Hindus some reformers have already appeared decrying idolatry, which acts as a bar to the realization of divinity in the most advanced souls. Yājñavalkya held that view (*pratimā hi alpabuddhīnām*), and Patañjali warned the Yogi not to be deterred by those images which conjure up the mind in the initial stages, and are merely stepping-stones to spiritual evolution. Advanced Hindus worshipped not an image, but the God in the image. In *Divyā-*

vadāna[1] Upagupta falls at the feet of Māra, who personifies the Buddha, but is seen to say, 'It is not you that I adore, but him you represent, just as people venerating earthen images of gods do not revere the clay but the immortal ones represented by them.' Abul Fazl[2] discerned the true position of the Hindus in this respect as late as the sixteenth century, when some of the elementary truths regarding the subject had been forgotten by the Hindus themselves. 'The Hindus use images only to prevent their thoughts from wandering.'

As for the masses, the bulk of mankind, they are cast in a common mould. To them images have always been of high educative value. Their minds are versed in the traditional lore of the Epics and Purāṇas, which are part and parcel of the folk-lore of India. They are born and bred in an atmosphere of religious feeling, which had its efflorescence in spiritual conceptions of supreme significance. They seek in images a crystallization of these conceptions shaped by the tendency to idealism natural to the country and climate. In temples and images they see the expression of the national religious ideals taught by symbolism and suggestion. The artist has done his work by being true to the traditional description of the God and investing the image with sculptural or structural details suited to the performance of the deeds and functions ascribed to Him. His art is employed to inspire some sort of religious feeling in the spectator. These features are present in every image, however much the artist

[1] XXVII, (p. 362).

[2] *Ain-I-Akbari*, Part III.

may have embroidered his own fancies across the fabric of the representation.[1]

The temple was also the seat of festive gatherings and rejoicings which, while they partook of a religious character, did a great deal to relieve the humdrum monotony of life. These rejoicings took various forms, but they always included music and pantomime, some sort of primitive dancing at times, and lectures and demonstrations on rare occasions. In an age when the idea of public museums was unknown, these gatherings played their part to some extent; objects of show and curiosity, wild animals tamed and confined to a cage, monkeys trained to perform feats, the cobra made to dance to simple music, the elephant in majesty adorned with a howdah and caparisoned in oriental fashion, horses and bullocks drawing the hackneys and stately carriages, to the music of tinkling cymbals on their necks—the combination of these had the effect on the spectator of a circus, a park and a museum, placed within his reach free of cost. These agencies of popular education in the broadest sense radiated from the temple as the centre of such activities. The more important temples and seats of learning attracted hundreds of thousands of men and women on occasions of such festivities.

VIII

VALUE OF PILGRIMAGE

The fame of places of pilgrimage, and the facilities provided for the purpose, gave a stimulus to con-

[1] S. V. Venkateswara: in *J.R.A.S.* for 1918.

stant travel in this period. The places of pilgrimage mentioned in the Purāṇas were most of them actual resorts of pilgrims now. Kings boast of their pilgrimages in inscriptions, and the common people also went on their rounds, taking advantage of the free boarding and lodging houses (choultries and sattrams) provided for them at convenient intervals on their route. And yet travel, though encouraged as between the various parts of India, was strictly confined to the borders of the country, and foreign travel was discouraged by the penalty of social excommunication. This was a period when commercial intercourse with China was at its best, but we do not hear of any cultural effect of China on India or even of Chinese industries being imitated or established in this country. It cannot be said, therefore, that the educational advantages of foreign travel were obtained in India in this period. Within the circumscribed limits of India, however, travel did its good. The benefit was mostly reaped by the poorest classes and by women. Even ladies of high families travelled in public with the help of male guards. The *ghosha* system was as yet unknown, says Abu Zaid about A.D. 916.[1] There were numerous inns for travellers.

IX

ENDOWMENTS

The temple authorities were also the custodians of grants and endowments made for educational and

[1] Elliot and Dowson: *History of India as told by her own Historians*, Vol. I, extract 1.

other purposes. Very often the temple itself was an endowment, placed in charge of trustees. A number of inscriptions record the provision in temples for reciting hymns from the *Tevāram* and the *Nālāyiram* in particular. These were religious works of the Śaiva and Vaishṇava saints. Then there was the provision for chanting the Vedas (*adhyayana*) and for teaching a number of Sanskrit texts, on such subjects as Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāmsā. There was often provision of free feeding and gifts of money for those who taught, and for those who studied as well. Now and then we meet with endowments of a more far-reaching character, for maintaining a college, hostel or hospital. There was the Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍāra in the temple, to which gifts could be made.[1]

An inscription at Śendalai provides for the reading of the *Mahābhārata* in the Sundareśwara temple,[2] and another for expounding Prābhākara Mīmāmsā philosophy in the Nāgeśwara temple at Kumbakonam.[3] Teachers of the Vedas, Śāstras, Purāṇas, etc., and dancing masters and musicians are referred to in numerous inscriptions.[4] A Tiruvoṟṟiyūr inscription[5] records the gift of sixty *veli* of land for maintaining the Vyākaraṇa Dāna Vyākhyāna Maṇḍapa and for worshipping the God 'who appeared before Pāṇini and taught him the fourteen aphorisms in fourteen days.' In the same temple Śaiva

[1] *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, No. 695 of 1916.
[2] *Ibid.*, for 1899, para. 9. [3] *Ibid.*, for 1912, p. 651.
[4] *E.g. Madr. Ep. Rep.*, for 1916, Nos. 390, 418, 565, 664 and 671. The Śiva temple at Tiruvidaimarudur patronized the poet Rāmanātha Kavirāyan as late as the sixteenth century. *Ibid.*, Nos. 412, 413 and 421.
[5] *Madr. Ep. Rep.* for 1913, p. 110.

religion and philosophy (Śivadharma and Siddhānta) were also taught. The Venkaṭeśwara Perumāḷ temple at Tirukkūḍal, near Kāñchīpuram, maintained a hospital, a hostel, and a college.[1]

The most interesting details in this respect are those found in an inscription of Rājendra Chōḷa I, of about A.D. 1023. The assembly of Eṇṇāyiram founded a Vedic college and hostel.[2] They endowed lands for four reciters of the *Tevāram* hymns, twenty-five Śrī Vaishṇavas, and for all devotees at the seven days' festival. Systematic feeding of the students and teachers was carried on in a Maṇḍapa of the temple—the Gaṇgaikoṇḍa Chōḷa Maṇḍapa.[3] The various branches of knowledge for which chairs were instituted were the Vedas, comprising both the divisions of Yajur-Veda and the two of the Sāma-Veda, Grammar, Mīmāmsā and Vedānta. The Mīmāmsā philosophy taught and studied was of the school of Prabhākara, and not of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. The Baudhāyanam was the only Grihya Sūtra, the study of which was provided for. The fee attached to each chair and the money allowed to students in some of the colleges enable us to judge of the relative importance attached to the different subjects in this period. The teacher of Vedānta, for instance, got a *tuni* of paddy more per day than the teacher of Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāmsā. The study of these advanced subjects was further encouraged by the present of half a *kaḻanju* of gold each to the scholars under instruction. The annual requirements came to 10,506 *kalam* of paddy and 61½ *kaḻanjus* of

[1] *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, 1916, p. 118.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 333 of 1917.
[3] *Ibid.*, for 1917, sections 27–29.

gold. These were got out of 45 *veli* of land, which was placed in possession of the temple authorities. But there was some difficulty in rendering the endowment perpetual. The exactions of the State and the landlords very often broke the back of the ryot and resulted in his quitting the land. The king, therefore directed the village assembly, who also managed the temple affairs, to swear that they would never exact from the cultivator more than the sanctioned quit-rent.

The endowment rested on the goodwill of the surrounding residents, which had to be secured by satisfactory working. The husking of paddy was to be done at the rate of two measures of rice per five measures of paddy. The village supervision committee had to look to the supply of firewood for the hostel. Sugar and other necessaries were supplied by the traders in the south bazaar, some of whom were Brāhmans, in lieu of interest on certain sums now lent to them. The temple authorities were to make over to the hostel any excess of milk, ghee and curds that was left over after the temple requirements were met. Brāhman bachelors were appointed as watermen and for culinary service in the hostel. In another inscription, which comes from Paṇaiyavaram,[1] there is a reference to a hostel on similar lines but on a smaller scale. There is provision for an oil-bath also for the student every week.

Another Chōḷa record[2] mentions the purchase of 72 *veli* of land, yielding annually 12,000 *kalam* of paddy, for feeding pious Brāhmans (Uttamāgram),

[1] *Madr. Ep Rep.*, No. 323 of 1917.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 176 of 1919.

for the health of Rājendra Chōḷa. Various offerings to gods and the expenses of festivals took up 2,475 *kalam*, and the balance of 9,525 *kalam* was spent on educational purposes. The educational endowment was disposed of on almost the same lines as at Eṇṇāyiram. There were three chairs for each of the Rig and Yajur-Vedas, one each for the Sāma-Veda, Chhāndogya and Talavakāra, and one for Śukla-yajus. And there was also a chair here of Mīmāmsā and another of Satyāshāḍha Sūtra, besides the chair for Baudhāyana Sūtra endowed in both the places. The teachers here, twelve in all, got four *kalam* of paddy daily, as against one at Eṇṇāyiram. Again, there were taught, besides Vedānta, Vyākaraṇa and Rūpāvatāra, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Vaikhānasa Śāstra. The last is the first instance, I believe, of priest-craft for temple service as a regular subject of instruction. There were here 260 students on the whole, as against 270 at Eṇṇāyiram. The land of 72 *veli* was exempted from taxation, and the teachers and students enjoyed special exemptions.[1]

These two records place the educational world under a deep debt of gratitude to the famous Chōḷa emperor. But he was apparently only one of a line of kings who placed endowments with village assemblies for religious and educational purposes. Even when a Chōḷa king wanted to bestow patronage on a poet, he did it through some village assembly. The assembly of Tribhuvana Mahādevī Chaturvedimangalam awarded, under orders of Kulōttuṅga I, half a *veli* and two *ma* of land to the poet Tirunā-

[1] *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, for 1919, p. 96.

rāyaṇa Bhaṭṭan, as reward for his poem in praise of the king's exploits.[1]

One peculiar feature of these endowments was the mixing up of educational grants with those for general charitable purposes. At Eṇṇāyiram another inscription reveals the provision for feeding 506 Brāhmans, including Vedic students, Śrī Vaishṇavas, and others. Thus it would appear there were 156 persons other than students fed daily in the temple, besides the three hundred and fifty Vedic students detailed in the other inscription. The general result of this indiscriminate mixing up of students and others may have been that the charities gradually lost their original educational character. It is open to conjecture that some of the temple endowments still existing may have originally been in part at least earmarked for educational purposes, as at Eṇṇāyiram.

I have already referred to the Ambikāpuram copper-plate of Vijaya-Gaṇḍa-Gōpāla of date A.D. 1291, which provides for the daily feeding of 108 or 800 Brāhmans. There is not even a tradition now of the original purpose of that endowment, and the village granted is now a general part of the property of the Maṭha, and a large portion was lost by mismanagement. It would be the triumph of epigraphical research in South India, if educational endowments could be disentangled and differentiated from the

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 198 of 1919. Among other records of an educational character are Sk. 153 (A.D. 1068), Sk. 132 (A.D. 1072) and Sk. 94 (A.D. 1093). Sk. 132 mentions twelve lecturers (*Vyākhyātā*) in the Kriyāśakti Temple. Sk. 153 records Jayasimha's grant for the food and clothing of students in the Siddheśwara Temple in the same city. Sk. 94 records a grant for feeding pupils there.

vast Sattram and temple funds of the present day, and their proceeds earmarked for education, in keeping with the purpose of the founders.

X

WANDERING MINSTRELS

The caste of Pāṇans used to recite songs and lays of fighting and adventure before kings and nobles on festive and other occasions. They were mostly mendicants and travelling minstrels. But they differed from the wandering beggars of later times in that their songs had no religious purport or purpose. It is not clear, but it is far from unlikely, that such recitation was often accompanied by some sort of primitive dance. There were elements of comedy in the *Chākkiyār*[1] and *Naṅgiyār* who remind us of similar pageantry in the Prākrit works.

Another agency of religious instruction was the Vairāgi, of whom Abu Zaid collected an account as early as A.D. 916. Vairāgis were not merely beggars with the bowl, they were poets and reciters of old lays as well, and their rambles extended to all parts of India. They were the repositories of ancient tradition and folklore, and the custodians of the ballad literature of India.

XI

THE VERNACULARS AND MASS EDUCATION

Vernaculars received considerable attention in this period, owing to the literary activities of the

[1] *Chākyakah* in the *bhāna* of Śyāmiḷaka, (*Chaturbhāni*, No. 4, p. 2).

Maṭhas and the patronage of the kings. Rāja Rāja I instituted the recitation of *Tevāram;* and Rājendra Chōḷa set up images of some Śaiva saints and a Maṭha at Tanjore. There were Śaiva Maṭhas in parts of the Trichinopoly district, e.g. Tiruchaṭṭi-muṟṟam and Kōvilūr. In other parts of the presidency also there were similar Maṭhas, at places as far apart as Maḍipaḍu in the Sattenapaḷḷi taluk of Guntur,[1] and Kariśūḷndamaṅgalam on the Tāmraparṇi river. The latter Maṭha was intimately connected with the Venkaṭāchalapati temple of the place, and the mismanagement and misappropriation of the revenues by one of the managers led to the properties being handed over to the temple, subject to certain restrictions as regards audit of accounts and the general maintenance of the Maṭha. The recalcitrants were dismissed after due enquiry.[2]

Partly owing to this activity the *Mahābhārata* was rendered into Tamil, Kanarese and Telugu. It was an important means of mass education. There was in this period a large output of Dravidian literature which must have been ordinarily used in the educational institutions of the time. This was also the time when modern Malayalam branched off from mediæval Tamil, and the Telugu and Kanarese languages came to have literatures of their own. But this very growth of vernacular literature gave an impetus to the study and popularization of Sanskrit. Sanskrit works were rendered into the vernaculars, and Sanskrit terms ordinarily employed in daily life. Sanskritization went so far that even the names of the temples originally Dravidian now

[1] *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, No. 187 of 1917. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 576 of 1916.

acquired a Sanskrit rendering, which in many cases came to replace the original. The Bṛhadīśvara temple of Tanjore has lost the memory of its original name, viz., Periya Uḍaya Nāyanār, found in an inscription on the temple wall.[1]

As early as the Christian era the Sātavāhana king of Kuntala had ordered Prākrit to be used in his harem to the exclusion of Sanskrit. There were different varieties of Prākrit used in India in the early centuries A.D. The Mahārāshṭra form was the most popular in South India, and the early inscriptions of the Kadambas and the Pallavas are in this dialect. The Tamil language and Grantha script were evolved as media of literary instruction, and there was a prodigious output of poetical and devotional literature, thanks to the activity of the Āḻwārs and the Āchāryas and of the Śangam celebrities. Rājaśekhara describes Prākrit as naturally sweet, Apabhramśa as elegant and Bhūtabhāshā (Paiśāchī) as lending itself to graceful composition. He held that Sanskrit poems were harsh to the ear, compared with smooth and flowing Prākrit. The people of Surāshṭra mixed Apabhramśa with Sanskrit in their composition to secure mellifluous cadence.[2]

Bṛhaspati[3] speaks of a *Vidyāpāṭhadeśa* or village elementary school located where cross-roads met (chatushpatha). Writing materials were in common use, and we are enabled to get some idea of the apparatus in a village school from Rājaśekhara's description of a poet's outfit. There is mention of

[1] *S.I.I.*, vol. II, No. 62.

[2] *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Act I, 10; *Karpūramañjarī*, I, 4; *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, chap. 7.

[3] *Artha Sūtrās*, III, 26.

box, blackboard and chalk, pens and inkstands, pencils and plates, and sheets of bhūrja bark or tāḍī leaves serving as writing material.

The village theatre is another feature of this period. An inscription of the ninth year of Rāja Rāja I records a gift of land by the assembly of Śāttanūr to Kumaran Śikaṇṭan, a professional actor, for staging the seven acts of *Āryakūttu*. For the maintenance of a *nānāvidha-nāṭaśālā* provision is made in an inscription of Rājakesari Kulōttuṅga. The performance of the *Agamārgam* at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr was attended by Rāja Rāja III.[1]

Other agencies of mass-education continued as of old. The Sanskrit drama and Dravidian *kūttu* sowed broadcast among the masses the moral lessons of the legendary poems, while infusing a sense of fraternity in culture and ministering to the æsthetic sense. More frequent than the village drama was the recitation of readings from the epic poems and the Purāṇas by *Pākas*, whether in temples or in the open streets. The *Parikathā* of which we read in the early centuries A.D. had now developed into popular story-telling, the orb of story being fixed on the attention by satellites of anecdotes. Then there were the singing beggars and the bowl-poets dispensing cheap instruction for the barest means of livelihood, and often diffusing thoughts outweighing their weight in philosophy. This education through the eye and the ear penetrated the hearts of the illiterate, and weaned the cultured from the ways of the world and the flesh. The songs of some of these minstrels have come down to us. In the

[1] *Annual Report Arch. Surv. of India*, 1921-22, p. 117.

Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaḍai we see how they must have fired the imagination, and heartened heroes to deeds of daring worthy of their forefathers. It was in such institutions that men of thought discovered cultural value. As the *Nālaḍiyār* puts it, ' the uncultured may read, but are uneducated ; men of culture unlettered are men well-read.' The Tamilian poet considered education to consist not so much in literacy as in the real culture of the mind.

XII

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

We have no record of technical education except some evidence of craft guilds. At Kāñchīpuram there was an oilmongers' craft guild, which collected taxes for communal purposes in addition to those due to the government.[1] The weavers' guild of the same place was in full vigour and was recognized as a self-governing corporation as late as A.D. 1685, when the guild made a contract on copper-plate to pay certain dues to an agent, apparently of the Śaṅkara Maṭha of the place.

References to schools are rare in inscriptions. The probable reason is that the village teacher was one of the village staff, getting customary doles collected from the villagers. The Maṭhas and other agencies must have maintained the institutions for higher learning, as set forth above, while vocational training must have gone on as before at the house of the master craftsman belonging to the guild. But the

[1] *Madr. Ep. Rep.* for 1910, p. 94.

inscription of Paṇaiyavaram[1] refers to a free school (Dharmapaḷḷi), whose teacher was to be provided out of the funds endowed for the hostel. Here, again, the endowment is mixed up with funds for other charitable purposes, e.g. maintaining water-sheds in temples.

XIII

EDUCATION IN THE NORTH AND IN THE SOUTH

A comparison of the curricula and methods of studies in this epoch with those which obtained in the earlier period supplies a few suggestions. The studies were almost entirely those that befit the life of the recluse, and the energism of the Kshatriya or warrior class is conspicuous by its absence in South India. Where energism was non-existent, the military spirit declined and disappeared. India fell a prey to the invader. That the fall was so long delayed is accounted for only by the geographical conditions of the country and the natural barriers separating Northern from Southern India.

The South influenced the North in Architecture and Philosophy. The South supplied the fashions, and probably the architects, for the magnificent stone temples which arose in all Rajput states in the North from the tenth to the thirteenth century. The philosophical systems of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja worked their way rapidly in Hindustan.

From the general South Indian attitude of retirement and renunciation the North was rescued by the Rajput civilization with its essential ideas of achievement and action. The origin of the Rajput

[1] *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, No. 323 of 1917.

clans suggests both foreign and indigenous elements, which were held in solution and kept in balance by constant intermarriage and the adoption of common customs. The Rajput ideas of discipline and chivalry, of Satī and Jauhar, the strong forts and the bands of mercenaries maintained by chieftains, and even the political and private wars that were matters of common occurrence, must have supplied what military education was possible in the circumstances. In the Rajput education there was a leaven of religious culture in the resorts to temples and pilgrimages, and even the subordination to theocracy enforced by religious penalties. But Rajput education alone supplied the corrective of virility to the mild and monastic ideas of the time. There was considerable commercial and literary communication between the different parts of the country, and schools of Rajput painting grew up, which shows that the arts were by no means neglected in the curricula of Rajput studies.

XIV

EDUCATION OF THE POET

Indian people, it is generally held, are a race of philosophers plunged in thought, and of poets actuated by high seriousness and profundity. The imputation might stand in the case of the philosophers, but certainly does not apply to the common people and those who catered for their taste. Comic and even vulgar scenes on temple-walls bear eloquent testimony to the popular sense of humour, and to

the fact that educational agencies, even in the department of religion, helped to feed and foster the comic sense. It is true that Indian poetry is actuated to a great extent by 'high seriousness.' In spite of occasional obscenities there is nothing in Sanskrit literature corresponding to the wild phantasies of Aristophanes or the sordid lusts of Baudelaire. The gentle trivialities of La Fontaine have their analogue in the *Bhāṇa* literature of which there was an enormous output since the Christian era. In this literature are several passages where absurdity blooms to perfection as in Boccaccio or in Shakespeare.

At the same time the higher purpose of education was not lost sight of or relegated to a subordinate place. As in architecture we have the picture of genius wrestling with uncouth material, ending finally in the victory of the mind in a life-and-death struggle with matter, so in literature, we have the language of everyday life, emerging victorious in the effort to evolve moral and spiritual lessons out of what, to the less thinking mind, was matter for merriment or meaningless pastime. When the sweets and graces of the *Kalās* yielded to Kāvya and Alaṅkāra literature their delicious fragrance and had become sublimated to the highest purposes of poetics, the Kāmaśāstra, bared to the bone, became a vacuous mass of despised indecency or of neglected ruins.

The education of the poet was planned on these lines.[1] Poetic form was the outcome of a knowledge of grammar, vocabulary, poetics and metrics; and

[1] *Vāmana*, I, 3; *Bhāmaha*, I, 9; *Rājaśekhara*, VIII.

poetic graces, of the various arts. The capacity to compose was a gift of the soul, and was bound up with neither rank nor sex. Variety of theme was obtained from study and reflection, and variety of colouring acquired from observation during journeys made by the poet. But Rājaśekhara strikes a new note in laying down that 'purity of mind, speech and body' was also a requisite condition of the production of good poetry.

The main purpose in poetry, as in music, was to engender a certain *rasa* or waken a mood in the audience.[1] The dominant mood was the Erotic (śriṅgāra), which stood in opposition to the Repellant (bībhatsa), as the Heroic (vīra) did to the Timid (bhayānaka), the Furious (raudra) to the Marvellous (adbhuta) and the Comic (hāsya) to the Compassionate (karuṇā). To these moods some writers add the Endearing (preyas), the Sweetly Deceptive (māyā), the Loyal (śraddhā), the Tranquil (śanta), and the Devoted (bhakti). The poet was trained in a clear psychological analysis of the major emotions, and in the laws of rhetoric whereby they were roused. As in drawing beauty was associated with graceful curves, so in speech, twisted expression (vakrokti) was the life of poetry, where sound was the echo of a sense amply suggestive (dhvani), but not exact or precise, and figures of speech (alaṅkāra) were embroidered across the fabric of the utterance. Poetic gift consisted in the sensuous perception of the external world (svabhāva) and in the spiritual insight into the recondite

[1] Bharata: *Nāṭya Śāstra*, XVI, 39 and 40; *Vakroktiścha rasoktiścha svabhāvoktiścha vāngmayah* | *Sarvānugrāhiṇīm tāsu rasoktim pratijānate* || (Bhoja).

recesses of human personality and its workings (bhāvas), in both exploring the Reality beyond appearance.[1] Even the lighter side of life, as voiced by characters like the buffoon (Vidūshaka) and the Gay and the Gallant (Pīṭhamarda and Viṭa) in dramas, and by the courtezan (Veśyā) in the comic pieces (prahasana and bhāṇa), is sublimated to an intuitive perception of the fundamental workings of the inner personality.[2]

As regards language, there was a further process of differentiation of the Prākrits since the last period, and writers on the Drama mention the tongue appropriate to each actor, according to the location of his country and the characteristics of the class to which he belonged. It is not possible to judge how far these distinctions existed in practice, and to what extent they have been overdrawn. Nor is it possible to believe that the poetic styles (rīti) were characteristic of locality in this period, as they appear to have been before Bāṇa's day. To mention only one instance in point, Bāṇa noted the style of the Northerner (udīchya) as full of punned stanzas (śleshaprāyam), but all the masters of *ślesha* mentioned by Mankhuka are southerners, and this seems to point to something like the Indianization of the provincial characteristics.

XV

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

There were numerous centres of learning in India. The *Digvijayam* gives an account of the various

[1] A good instance is in the Prahasana literature, e.g. *Bhagavadajjukam* (Trichur, 1925.) [2] As in the *Chaturbhāi* (Trichur, 1922).

places of learning visited by Śaṅkarāchārya. They include Kashmir, Benares, the principal seats of Sanskrit learning in Hindustan, Taxila, the time-honoured seat of Hindu and Buddhist culture, Ujjain, the Greenwich of ancient India, one or two towns in Nepal where the scholars enjoyed royal patronage, Kanouj, the well undefiled of Vedic culture and pure Brāhmanism, and Navadvīpam in Bengal, where Hindu learning was patronized by the Pāla kings.

Among the Buddhist seats of learning was Nālandā in Behar, refounded by Dharmapāla, where were six colleges, and where Tāntric Buddhism flourished; and numerous Jain seats existed, especially on the west coast of India. That scholars resorted to the different places for education irrespective of religious differences we gather from the Ghoserābau inscription, which states that one Vīradeva, after his Vedic studies, repaired to the monastery Kanishka Mahāvihāra near Peshawar, in the ninth century.

In South India Kāñchīpuram was the most ancient and famous seat of learning. Then came Chidambaram, Tirupati and Śrīraṅgam, Kumbakonam, Madura, Tirunāvāi (near Paṭṭāmbi, Malabar), and Trichur. Their curricula was of the classical type and there is no need to dwell upon them.

It may be noted with regret, however, that the halls of learning had now become contaminated by the acrimony of religious disputation. When the factious feeling ran high a scholar of Rāmānujāchārya's eminence had to leave the holy city of Śrī Raṅgam.

XVI

EDUCATION OF WOMEN

Rājaśekhara[1] gives instances of women of letters in this period, who took as high a rank as men. 'Taste and training tell in all persons regardless of sex.' He cites with respect the views of his wife Avantisundarī, who apparently wrote a work on poetics, and at whose instance his *Karpūra-mañjarī* was put on the boards. She boldly differed from Vāmana, the classical writer, in her view of *Vākyapāka*. Women of all ranks and grades had written poetical works and shown learning in Śāstraic lore. Śilabhaṭṭārikā was quite a match for Bāṇa, and her style echoed the sense in Pāñchāla fashion. The verses of Vikaṭanitambā flowed with milk and honey. Vijayānkā of the Karnāṭa country was Sarasvatī incarnate, and an eminent successor to Kāḷidāsa in the Vidarbha school of poetry. Prabhudevī of Lāṭa was full of wise saws and the graces of rhetoric, and a mistress of all the arts. The dark-complexioned Vijjikā described herself as having given the lie direct to Daṇḍin's description of the Goddess of Learning as all white. The wife of Maṇḍana Miśra has come down to tradition as the lady-scholar who was the umpire and judge at the learned discussions on philosophy between her husband and the great Śaṅkarāchārya.

There are references in inscriptions even to ladies of rank invading the jealously-guarded enclosure of

[1] *Kāvyamīmām ā* (*op. cit.*), chap. x and note on p. 53. The *Sūkti-muktāvaḷī* quotes from Rājaśekhara.

masculine duties and privileges. An inscription of Mihira Bhoja discloses bands of women who gloried in the military profession.[1] Vikramāditya VI of the western Chalukya line appointed his wives as Viceroys of districts. Six of these are known, all alike Rajput princesses, the most talented of whom was Chandralekhā of the Śilahari clan. Some sort of political and military education has to be postulated for girls of the fighting classes in this period.

The cultivation of the æsthetic sense in women and their sense of independence contributed to the formation of a class of heteræ who find prominent mention in the records of the period. A class of Saubhikās or Śobhānikās exist already in Patañjali's day, and the expression *lenasobhika* in Madhura inscriptions is probably also of similar reference. They show that women actually appeared on the stage, since its beginnings in the third century B.C. or earlier.[2] A class of women, gay but not public, appear in the dramatic literature as cultured and talented and of great conversational powers. They are depicted in the *Kāmasūtras*[3] as frequenters of *goshṭhis* and *ghaṭas*, and Bhāsa[4] refers to the gaiety of life among these maidens.

The *Harivaṃśa*, to which there are references in Aśvaghosha's time, describes the dalliance of the Gopis with Krishṇa at Brindāvan, and they are housewives in the transport of æsthetic delight. The character of Rādhā and the sensuous music and

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, No. 13.
[2] *Arch. Sur. Rep.* for 1903–4, p. 123 f.
[3] Sūtra 13, (p. 303). [4] Bhāsa : *Avimāraka*, pp. 69, 86 f.

voluptuous langour of the *Gīta Govinda* are further stages in this march of sensuousness, which the small voice of Rudraṭa and Rudrabhaṭṭa could not bring within the limits of decency. The public woman and courtezan (veśyā and sāmānyā), though deprecated by Rudraṭa, is extolled by Rudrabhaṭṭa. She represented a crying social need, and satisfied a real æsthetic purpose.

Æsthetic perfection belongs to a dimension different from moral perfection and, as Keyserling observes, is not rarely at right angles to it. Fanatics of morality have not seldom been cripples in art; for æsthetic culture can grow and flourish on the background of erotic culture. In circles of refined sensuous culture beauty transfigures love to a real art. Aspasia treats Eros as the canvas and forces man at a high level of erotic tension to embroider ever new and ever more delicate shades and tones. She is the queen, muse and sybil, having a wide emotional horizon, varied sympathies and a many-sided character. And in India the man possessed the woman whom he wooed, as did Pericles or Mark Antony. The bloom of art under the Chōḷas of Tanjore is signalized by endowments on the temple walls for maintaining four hundred dancing-women in the reign of Rājarāja I. They had originally other duties also, but came to specialize in music, the dance and the drama.

As regards the normal woman, she got her girlhood-education as of old, fitting her for family-life. The very folk songs she was taught in infancy for use in the games of girlhood sought to impart serious lessons in philosophy. The songs used in playing

with the wooden ball (ammānai) in South India are good instances in point, as shown by the strains of Māṇikkavāchakar :

As atinkling sound the bracelets
and the ear-rings swing and wave,
And the jetty locks dishevelled
stray on artless to and fro ;—
Rose-hued sage of flowing Ayyār
white in burnt-out desires decked,
Omnipresent, dwelling close by,
though His home is far Beyond,
To the loving ever faithful,
whom the unfaithful deem untrue,
Sing His praise, Ammānai, darling,
leap with laughter, up and see !

Him I see not, Him I seek for,
wandering in the forest glade,
Mind and wood are thick with thought-trees,
all with sensuous fire ablaze,
My braid, bud-and-flower-decked, dripping
honey sucked by wanton bees,—
Oh the fragrant sweetness lingers,
for my Lord and heaven's king !
Him I see not, longing, pining,—
O Ammānai, sigh and see !

CHAPTER VI

OUR HERITAGE

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OUR HERITAGE

I

EDUCATION AND THE PROPAGATION OF CULTURE

We may now take stock of the arrangements adopted in India for the development, preservation and propagation of culture. Education was not merely concerned with the instruction of the young; nor even with the formation of habit and the development of will-power. It sought to build up the whole being of the individual, and enable him to lead the highest and the best kind of life possible for him in the circumstances in which he was placed. Educative influences were so planned as to mould his life from the moment he was conceived to the moment of his demise; and they pervaded most departments of actual life. The system included the anxious caretaking of the babe, the efficient breeding of the child, the delicate training of adolescence, and the gradual developing of the sense of values in the adult in the little-thought-of acts of daily life. There was, in this routine of ritual, something to turn his thoughts from the light things of the passing moment to matters of eternal import. Domestic and social life were so arranged as to develop a sense of spirituality (*munivṛtti*) in

the evening of life, a life of constant social service and spiritual drill, to lead finally to a surrender of the realized self in communion with the Divine (*yoge tanutyāga*), the aim in ancient India even of kings. If education was conterminous, it was also co-extensive with life.

II

PRE-NATAL PREPARATION

The embryo was treated through the expectant mother, and a ceremonial and festivity ensured emphatic attention at every stage to matters of embryonic and babe welfare. The Indian system was unlike the Babylonian in disallowing the wet-nursing of children, so that the child literally imbibed several tastes with the mother's milk, and learnt many things in the mother's school. Then came the educational influences of the father, the other members of the family circle, and of the sports on the village green—the sports of children that satisfy the child. Weaned from these sweet and softening influences, he was transferred from the parental home to the larger home—the *gurukula*—of the teacher.

III

INITIATION

The ceremony of initiation was one of great significance in the life of the student. He was impressed with the importance of leading a life of

poverty, chastity, service and humility ; of treating his teacher's family with whom he lived, with affection and reverence; of regarding boys and girls as brothers and sisters, and men and women of the neighbourhood as uncles and mothers. Incidentally he learnt the virtues of adapting himself to a new environment, of moving among his fellows, of developing his own mental resources, and of communing with Nature in its sublime and beautiful aspects in the course of his rambles in the woods. Student-life was marked by obedience, self-restraint, earnest inquiry, and social service summed up in the word *Brahmacharya*.

IV

TEACHERS AND STUDENTS: UNIVERSITY CENTRES

Indian society recognized several classes of teachers and students. It scoffed at such of them as took to a career of discipleship merely to make sure of a decent living, for it must be remembered that liberality to a student was in India regarded as a religious duty. It mocked at those whose learning sat loosely on the tongue, and even at those who were earnest in their study but unwilling to look on student-life as a discipline. Our grammatical works abound in terms of popular rebuke applied to such classes of students. On the other hand, there were terms of commendation in accordance with their varying degrees of intellectual power and capacity, which was judged not by the achievements of the scholar but by the fewness of his lapses.

Teachers of various grades are distinguished. Among those still of the world, the first place was given to the *Āchārya*, who imparted the highest knowledge without charging any fees to those who lived under his roof, and supplied also free boarding and lodging. Next came the *Upādhyāya*, who took fees and imparted only secular instruction, as usually found in the post-Buddhistic times. The *Sikshaka* was an instructor of a lower grade who taught dancing and other accomplishments. The *Dīkshā-guru* was the tāntric teacher of esoteric doctrine, who was approached in faith, and whose teaching was often misunderstood and misapplied, thus bringing tāntrism into bad odour. In the world, but not of it, there dwelt on the outer fringes of the cities and villages or further away in the forest retreats, great men of piety and learning, who lived lives of content and constant contemplation, far from the maddening crowds' ignoble strife. Sometimes they lived in bands, and belonged to particular orders: *Sramaṇas*, *Vātaraśanas*, *Buddhas*, and very often they wandered about from one part of the country to another, whence they were known as *Parivrājakas*. They not only taught the advanced youths of the country who went to them, but were consulted on matters of high politics by princes, as we read in one of the *fragments* of Megasthenes. Evidently, some of them were old politicians who had, in the plenitude of youth and vigour, borne the heat and burden of administration, and who dedicated the evening of their life to literary leisure. Lastly, there were the wandering beggar minstrels—*Sādhus*, *Vairāgis* and *Paṇḍārams*—who were reposi-

›ries of ancient traditions, and who instructed as 'ell as amused the multitude by musical recitals ·om their rich treasury of *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* :ories.

Bands of such teachers massing together on the utskirts of towns and villages gave rise to universi- es, as the localities gradually gathered large umbers of pupils, and as endowments for build- ıgs, fellowships and scholarships poured in from rinces and peoples. Thus we have the *sanghārāma*, *ihāra* and *ghaṭika* colleges, some of which developed ıto universities like Taxila, Benares, Nālandā, and Kāñchīpura; the *agrahāra*, *brahmapuri* and *sabha* ı towns and villages; and the *maṭha* and the *ıaṇḍapa* in or connected with temples, like *Kōḍiya ıaṭha* and the *Vyākaraṇadāna maṇḍapa* of Belgāmve .nd Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. Verily was the schoolmaster .broad in ancient and mediæval India.

V

EXTENSION OF CULTURE

Much more important than the formation and ocalization of cultural institutions, which, according o Yuan Chwang, were spread through the length ınd breadth of India, was the general attitude of he cultured classes in regard to the filtering down ›f the essence of culture to the masses and the nillions. Brāhmans regarded the teaching of others ıs one of the five great daily sacrifices (*yajña*). A .eacher who died without leaving the world a :ultural copy of himself was regarded as destined

to be a whirling ghost after death (*brahmarakshas*). We have frequent prayers in the Upanishads for an increasing number of students. Teaching was therefore the self-imposed duty of a particular class in society, and was not left to isolated individuals or institutions. The members of this class had the duty of selecting pupils for training in accordance with innate aptitudes and inherited characters, and imparting to each the training for which he was fitted, the training that was best for him in the functional group to which he belonged, the training that would redound to his credit and enable him to make the most of his talent and opportunities in the interests of society. This was accompanied by vocational adaptations of cultural training in accordance with these considerations, and by supplementary courses of technical instruction in important cases. The former course is evidenced by the *Upavedas*, *Vidyās*, and *Kalās*, which were regarded as an integral part of the general cultural course. The latter is in evidence in the special schools of training in the *Śilpas* in appropriate parts of cities, and in advanced institutes in those regions where the natural facilities and inherited skill in the workmen could be made use of to the best advantage.

As for technical subjects, the artisan's workshop was also the industrial school, and there was no jealousy in the matter of entertaining apprentices. Should there be any, the community came to the rescue of the individual, with its rules of the guild (*śreṇi*), and by subjecting the erring individual to social odium and obloquy.

VI

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN IN INDIA AND OUTSIDE

The general objective of education was cultural, rather than utilitarian as in the case of Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia, where educational institutions sought to turn out officials, bankers and traders. Indian education had much more in common with that of the Hebrews, in that culture took no worldly turn, and that there was an insistence on education in the formation of habit ; and, in the case of girls, on woman's true function in society. It was next door to the Persian, where also *Dharma* and *Satya* were the social ideals. It resembled the Chinese in that it saw education in every act, before a moral and political colour was given to education in China by Confucius. The main point of contrast with the Greek was in the relative importance given to art and religion. With the Greeks virtue itself was esteemed because it was the music of the soul. On the other hand, music was considered of value in India because it let in the light of the Universal through one of the windows of the soul.

Indian education will be seen to compare favourably with that of other countries, not only in its objective, but in its main features. In the first place, there was no divorce between nature and nurture, the placing of the child in direct contact with Nature being one of the essential features of the system, and observation and induction being one of the principal methods. So also, there was a clear conception of the intimate relation of body and mind,

and the rigorous application of the principle that the mind and the soul could evolve only if the bodily impulses were not allowed to drag them down. The need for nourishing food for a growing organism was kept in view by the prohibition of any ascetic control of food in the case of the student.

There was specialization and development along particular lines. 'It takes twelve years to become a grammarian,' says the author of the *Pañchatantra*. Far earlier it had been realized that the field was vast and the time short and fleeting, and the question was often raised as to what knowledge was of most worth. It was never settled in favour of utilitarian subjects, of exalting the means of augmenting material resources at the expense of the development of the moral and spiritual life. Perhaps the fault was a too great insistence on moral values being borne in mind even in the development of the arts that were meant to please, and of the sciences that aimed at increasing the amenities of life. Whatever the branch of specialization, the Humanities formed a compulsory and almost universal study throughout life.

The education of adolescence was in the open air, and in direct contact with Nature. As the passion for music declines after puberty, youths in their later teens love to think of Infinity both in space and time. They weave their fancies across the diurnal motions of the sun, moon and stars, and read restlessness in the wind and eternity in the sea. When Nature appeals to them in this poetic way it is good that they should live in direct communion with her. Nature and man were comrades in the forest colleges.

Pauseless pursuit in these colleges was not that of the by-ways of blessedness in a lotus-land of rest, but of the royal road and rapture of ceaseless service, as well as of the infinite bliss and irresistible force locked up in self-restraint.

Cultural ideas were brought home to the masses and the women, by the various social observances, ceremonies and institutions; by scenic representations of old stories and street recitations of ballads with a moral purpose; by seasonal celebrations of the victory of the bright over the dark forces of Nature, so that the inner life of man and woman might flow in harmony with Nature's cyclic laws; by social festivities in times when the spirit of the people is struck with sorrow, as when epidemics or endemics prevailed; by periodic lectures in seats of learning or on temple platforms where the masses congregated and permanent classes were held for the more ardent and earnest seekers after truth; and by the standing agency, in rural tracts, of the village teacher, doctor, astronomer and priest. These agencies helped to keep alive among the people the rudiments of knowledge useful in life, and turned their thoughts at every step to country, culture and religion. In course of time sense dwindled into mummery, custom into ceremony, ceremony into farce; yet the principles of social hygiene, sanitation, etc., were worked into the daily life of the people and honoured by them in unthinking observance.

As regards women, the Indian view was clearly against making education too intellectual. Indeed, Megasthenes was struck with the reluctance of

advanced Indians to teach philosophy to their wives, and says there were few women of high-class culture. This is an extreme statement; there were remarkable instances of ladies of culture, not only philosophers but teachers of high philosophy, in every age, particularly the *Brahmavādins* and *Therīs*. It is true, however, that emphasis was laid on their modesty, regard for family-life, care of religion, children and the kitchen ; on domestic management, and husbanding of resources. They had no social duties inconsistent with these general principles, no social aims detrimental to the interest of the family, no social life or interest outside those of the family and the sex. There was thus a clear-cut differentiation between the spheres of men and women in social life ; and Indian ladies were, in general, contented with their lot. The sexes regarded their functions in life as complementary and not competitive. The queen of the house had her sphere in sentiment and emotion rather than in ratiocination. Her girlhood dreams sweetly brought promise of a woman's ripening. She knew not unwilling child-bearing, unwanted babes, or the need for the exercise of a modern ' dreadful patience.'

VII

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

As regards technical education, various kinds of practical knowledge were imparted at the artisan's house and workshop. Society sought to conserve regional traditions and inherited cultures also, by

helping to have them propagated in particular localities. The laws of craftsman and apprentice were laid down in the later *Smriti* texts, and appear to have been closely observed in ancient India. The lower orders of the society to whose charge industries and industrial education were left appear to have fulfilled their trust for ages, and it is a false view which regards Indian industries as having languished because of the proud indifference of the members of the highest caste and of the intelligentia. It is a view as insulting to the classes responsible for the world-wide reputation of our muslin, iron, textile and other industries, as it is false to history. The real cause of the decline lies deeper. Hindu social life was one compact and organic whole, and the disunion, dissension and disintegration, which threw the country open to the foreign invader, left their mark on other aspects of our social and cultural life. When the foundations of the social fabric were undermined, and the stones and joints got out of order, it could only linger on, relying on its native strength not to collapse like a house of cards.

VIII

CHARACTERISTICS

The characteristics of ancient Indian education, and the evolution of educational aims and practices, described in this volume, will be found to illustrate the main features of Indian culture as set forth at the commencement of this work. The schoolmaster

was both at home and abroad; the portals of culture were not barred with gold, to open only to golden keys; educational institutions were liberally endowed by king and country, noble and commoner; the State left the matter entirely to society, as the latter made such whole-hearted response; education was free and in most cases gratuitous; and mercenary ideas had not entered the minds of men. Education was graded in accordance with the moral character of the recipient, real or supposed; the organization and arrangements took account of the conditions of the country, and the genius of the people; the methods were adapted, as far as they could go in those ages, to the needs of society by the most intelligent and unselfish brains, with no other object in view than social welfare and social progress along lines dictated by a deliberately prepared scale of values. There was certainly no sacrifice of educational aims or interests to political or other considerations.

IX

CRITICISM

The imperfections of the system are obvious, judging from the modern standpoint. In regard to some of these, explanations are not far to seek. There was no general provision for the higher education of girls, or for teaching the vernaculars. But society had not become a misfit needing to teach people artificially those things which ought to be really drawn in with the air they breathe. Little

girls had not to be sent to school to learn domestic subjects, or grown-up children to be taught their vernacular or to learn good manners. Nor was there any provision for technical training or vocational instruction for those who were to follow the learned professions. The struggle for existence had not become so keen as to develop symptoms of that materialism, whether born of all-pervading poverty or of all-conquering avarice, which regards utilitarianism as the *summum bonum* of education.

Development of the natural sciences was arrested; of the historic sense, not even considered. It is true that the Indian mind was given to the study of facts by minute observation and logical induction, in marked contrast to the Greek whose predeliction was in favour of deduction. We have evidence of this particularly in Indian symptomology, therapeutics and physiology; and in many cases, the evil lay in the tendency to over-doing. But true development of the physical sciences was difficult, since the material was regarded as needing to be purged of its earthiness and impurity by being brought into contact with the spiritual, and by being fused and blended with it. Where discord has to blend into harmony and differences dissolved into unity, one is sometimes tempted to lose sight of actual conditions. Side by side with the attitude of working on concrete facts, of applying the inductive method to the hard realities of life, there was also an exaggerated evolution of an idealistic philosophy and the resultant process of *a priori* ratiocination. In course of time, the former was swallowed up in the latter, or at any

rate, arrested in its development. The result was that there was a fundamental lack of the historic sense—of the 'taste exact for faultless fact' as found in modern times. There was not even a chronology of events as in ancient Egypt, Greece and China.

As regards the courses of studies, there was a certain amount of breadth and elasticity. Foreign ideas were freely borrowed and so intelligently adapted to Indian systems of knowledge and modes of thought, that the result is a satisfactory homogeneity. Travel within the bounds of India was a religious injunction, and a matter of ordinary occurrence. But foreign travel which could give breadth of view and clarity of vision was difficult, if not impossible, in the then conditions of social life. 'The sea was a friend of the Asuras,' and Brāhmans who went beyond the seas were subject to excommunication. Nor was there any training in the methods of organization making for the common, as distinct from communal, welfare—in co-operation, self-government or social service, on a large scale. Opportunities for actual social service, such as they were, were confined to the locality of residence. There was no graduation, no stamp of merit enabling the public to judge of a scholar's fitness or eminence. Social recognition depended on the reputation of the scholar's *Guru* and on the duration of his course of studentship, apprenticeship and training. Scholars of superior power could make their mark only at assemblies and convocations (*Parishads*, *Ghaṭikās* and *Sangams*), thereby winning the recognition of the cultured and the patronage of princes.

The Indian system did hold, as do educational reformers to-day, that the school is defective in many ways, as an educational agency ; and it sought to supply the desideratum. Home education was so arranged as to be not merely a preparation for, but a supplement to the school. At home, young and old alike read the classics, and learnt to chasten their emotions, strengthen their volition, and think and feel alike. The modern boy spends only an eighth of his time at school ; the Indian spent his entire time there. In the school there were no frequent changes of teachers, or of classes involving changes in the groups of pupils. There was a healthy feeling of solidarity and responsibility, and ample opportunity for the exercise of self-reliance and individuality.

There was a high standard of culture, self-imposed discipline and stern regard for duty, selfless action and sacrifice combined with self-respect and reverence for others ; a high standard of academic dignity, and a sense of the nobility and the great purpose of human life. In this respect we have something to learn. Spirituality was not pulverized by the sledge-hammer blows of science. Poverty was not a bar for admission to the highest studies. The freedom of the teacher was not hampered by public subsidies, by the need for pleasing the public with a view to enlist their moral sympathies and financial contributions. Teaching with its ideas of plain living and high thinking was a vocation, not a trade. The Indian teacher had an academic dignity and seriousness, and held aloft the ideal of learned poverty before which the diadems of kings were as nought.

He held a high status in social life and was the leader of the locality and not merely the trainer of its youth. He regarded life as a lofty destiny, and lived it in such a way as to serve as a light and inspiration to his fellows.

X

CONCLUSION

The type of culture described in the foregoing pages had been evolved in India well before the Muhammadan invasions. It is the task of the historian to mark the stages of its growth, and assess the value of the influences which helped or hindered its development, as well as their ultimate effects. It is necessary to emphasize here that the type of culture thus evolved was not merely theoretical, but penetrated to the heart of the people, and pervaded every important aspect of individual and social life. The educational tree is known by its fruit. The effects of culture on a people are to be judged not only by the Himālayan heights achieved by some, but by the condition of the rank and file, by the progress of those that bring up the rear, according to the criterion of a cultural Cæsar.

Abul Fazl records in the *Ain-I-Akbari* that ‘ the Hindus are religious, affable, cheerful ; lovers of justice, given to retirement, able in business, admirers of truth, grateful and of unbounded fidelity ; and their soldiers know not what it is to fly from the field of battle.’ The general truth of this observation

and the fairness of the estimate are substantiated by other accounts, those of Albuquerque and Faria Y Souza, Terry and Bernier. When the Portuguese arrived in India, they found Indian warfare a game governed by elaborate rules. Prisoners of war were well treated; treachery was little known, or nocturnal fighting, or ambuscade. There was a high standard of the ethics of war and chivalry among the Hindus. Soldiers preferred death to dishonour, and innocent women fell into the fire to avoid falling into the hands of the invaders. All were struck with the honesty of the Indians, the fewness of the law-suits and the effective working of the popular courts of arbitration and conciliation, the sturdy independence and straightforwardness of the rustic, the sweetness of the home and the purity of family life. State administration of justice was marked by the principle of restitution of stolen or despoiled property to the bereaved party at the cost of the State or of the officers responsible for the detection of crime. As regards economic life, the reputation of Indian manufactures had expanded India's market for commodities, and the precariousness of agricultural life was to a great extent minimized by the existence of cottage industries. In religion, there was freedom not only to practise but to preach to others, which made Portuguese proselytism easy, led to a conglomeration of races and religions on the Malabar Coast, and helped the infiltration of foreign cultures into the country.

The vitality of Hindu educational institutions was not killed or crushed during the centuries of Musalman domination. Hindu culture and learning were

promoted by sovereigns like Akbar. Even during reigns of terror and periods of persecution the culture of India continued, though it had to migrate to more congenial regions within the country. The creative genius of India and her saving virtue of synthesis and syncretism are evidenced for this period by the silent testimony of Indo-Persian art, and the masterpieces of Rajput painting, and a galaxy of eminent writers, and a succession of religious reformers.

New channels of cultural creation were found alike in science, literature and art. This is proved by the output of books on medicine, mineralogy and chemistry; on logic, epistomology and methodology; by chronicles with a fair scheme of chronology; by systems of encyclopædic and synthetic *dharma*; by lyrics and epics in the vernaculars and the æsthetics of devotion and of love; and by the elaboration of various musical modes and of schools of painting and of art.

The roots of the Indian cultural organism are so deep in the soil and so far ramified as to give the native tinge and tone to the culture of the West which has spread so widely in modern India. That the spirit of India is still alive is demonstrated by Ram Mohan Roy and Vivekananda, and that it is capable of adorning whatever it touches and stamping the genius of India on it, by living examples like Tagore and Bose. That some of our scholars have imbibed the Indian spirit, not from the fountain of Sanskrit, nor even from the arterial flow of culture in the advanced vernaculars, but through the capillaries which carry the cultural nutriment to

the masses of the people, is proof positive of the unobtrusive vitality of India's educational system. Observers like Sir Thomas Munro have recorded that there was a school in every village, maintained by the population as a matter of ancient custom. Later European writers have noted with pleasurable surprise how the smallest acts of daily life in India are pervaded by the spirit of art and culture, as illustrated by hygiene and sanitation in customs and ceremonies, and by the rustic drawings in varied floral designs extemporized by the unsophisticated Indian wife to decorate the front of her house every morning. Verily, there was a democratization of culture of which we are still reaping the recurring fruit.

It is the glory of India that whatever was valuable in her cultural life should have been brought within the reach of all in a form easily assimilable as well as assertive, so that there was no cultural cleavage among the classes of the people, and the poorest and lowliest could understand, and make his own contribution to the common cultural stock. Though the Brāhmans were the class most responsible for the culture of India, they were able to carry the people with them, and were charitable in assessing their contribution, whatever their rank or grade. We have remarkable instances in point among the makers of Sanskrit and of Dravidian literature, and in the hagiology of South India, Śaiva and Vaishṇava.

It is the greater glory of India that her sweetness and light radiated beyond her borders to an ever-increasing area. Indian culture peacefully penetrated

sand-buried Khotan and outer Serindia, on the West, China and Tibet on the North, and Indo-China, Japan and the Spice islands in the East, not to speak of Ceylon in the South, which, like the other islands in the Indian Ocean, was culturally always a part of India. These tracts formed the Greater India and the arena of her cultural expansion unaccompanied by ideas of economic exploitation, political dominion or social domination. Is it too much to hope that a structure which has stood the stern test of time, though shaken so often by the thunder of adverse cannon, may not melt into thin air, but may prove of some service yet even to the western world, in this age of wars to end wars, and of passages at arms in the League, our eternally rising hope of universal peace?

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